

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—*Proverbs xxi. 8, 9.*

VOLUME IV. }
NUMBER V. }

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1861.

PRICE—
ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM.

CONTENTS OF THE PRESENT NUMBER.

Memorial of the People to Congress.....	529
The Situation.....	529
The Real Peril of the Republic.....	529
Gen. Fremont's Proclamation.....	530
Barclay Coppie Killed.....	530
Our National Fast.....	531
To our Readers and Subscribers.....	532
Death of John M'Dowall, Esq.....	532
The Duty of Abolitionists in the Present State of the Country.....	533
Letters from the Old World.....	533
The Contrabands.....	534
A Move in the Right Direction.....	534
Nat Turner's Insurrection.....	538
First of August Celebration in Leeds.....	540
Gerrit Smith's Letter to President Lincoln.....	541
Stealing Slaves to sell South.....	543

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of municipal institutions, Slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where Slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the army has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."—JOHN Q. ADAMS.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of _____, State of _____, respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the Government a fair pecuniary award, as a conciliatory measure, and to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

—It is estimated that five hundred of the Federal troops were killed at the battle of Bull Run, and twelve hundred taken prisoners by the enemy. As near as can be ascertained, the rebel loss can safely be put down at two thousand killed and wounded.

—We are compelled to leave out, in this number, for want of space, an eloquent speech by Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, which was recently delivered in New York.

THE SITUATION.

Very little has occurred since our September paper to change the aspect of the war against the rebels. The most important achievement of our arms is the capture of Forts Hatteras and Clark, in North Carolina, thus cutting off the rebels of Virginia from the Atlantic entirely, and reviving in the old North State the almost extinguished fires of loyalty, and greatly alarming the rebels for the safety of the Southern slave coast generally. Over seven hundred rebels were taken prisoners, and our force also captured some thirty guns and a large quantity of military stores.

Affairs about Washington have experienced no change, except in the increase of loyal troops, and the gradual reduction of them to more stringent military discipline.—The rebels are, from the best accounts, in large force, and are slowly pushing their lines towards those of the loyal army. Every confidence seems to prevail in the loyal States that the next great battle on the Potomac will result in victory for the Union, and no alarm is felt for the safety of the Capital.—Gen. McCLELLAN enjoys the fullest confidence of the army and the country.

In Western Virginia there have been several battles, but none of great importance, and of no decisive character. The rebel General, FLOYD, has been defeated.

In Missouri the Government has sustained a heavy blow in the loss of Lexington, a fortified town defended by four or five thousand troops, against between twenty and thirty thousand rebels. The victory of the rebels was complete, though marred by the loss of nearly a thousand men. Our loss is estimated at two hundred killed and wounded.

The Union cause has much improved in Kentucky. Her effort to remain neutral has been abandoned, and she is now ranged firmly with the loyal States, though there is, doubtless, a strong current of sympathy with the rebels still existing among her slaveholders.—BRECKINRIDGE, who was a candidate for the Presidency of the Southern and slaveholding wing of the Democratic party, and whose loyalty has been in doubt, has now, after pursuing a double course, the better to serve the rebels, thrown off all disguises, and gone to his own place among the slaveholding traitors and rebels.

The slight manifestation of a purpose to divide the North by the revival of party lines and party feeling, which we noticed last month, has been most signally rebuked by the overwhelming loyal sentiment of the people.

There has been quite a strong effort to remove Gen. FREMONT from his command in Missouri, but thus far unavailing. To this matter there is extended reference in our other columns. The sinews of war, both in men and money, are everywhere at the command of the Government. Less apprehension seems to be felt than formerly of interference by foreign powers with the blockade.

THE REAL PERIL OF THE REPUBLIC.

Denied, as we are, by a feeling in the country which we will not now stop to characterize, the humble privilege of active exertion with others in upholding the national flag and suppressing the present raging slaveholding rebellion, the next best thing, perhaps, is to watch the course of the conflict; observe the weak points of the enemy, mark the mistakes of friends, declare the sources of danger, and to point out the true method of avoiding them. Speaking as we do, only once in each month, our communications ought to possess something of the quality of history. Indeed, a paper published monthly can be, in these fast times, a newspaper to but very few. The mission of our journal is, therefore, to be a faithful recorder, not of all events touching the great conflict going on between liberty and slavery in this country, whether in the field or in the councils of the nation, but of the most important of them, and enough of them, to enable all, whether near by or afar off, who may read our journal, to form an intelligent judgment in respect to the character of the whole controversy. In this capacity of recorder, it is our duty, as already stated, to observe and criticise what is passing before us.

Let it, then, be borne in mind, that if this great American Government of ours—the pride of its people, and the admiration of the friends of freedom throughout the world—shall now, in this the first great trial of its strength, go down into the gloomy depths of social confusion, and into the midnight darkness of wild anarchy and chaos, the fact will not be explained by the tremendous power or extraordinary ability arrayed against it—for the rebels are notoriously a miserable, ill clad, ill fed, ill armed and poverty-stricken set.—This is a well ascertained fact. Our Government will not perish by these miserable foes, nor by want of a good cause to defend, or the necessary physical material to defend that cause. On this point there is no doubt anywhere at the North, or at the South, at home or abroad. Our Government is opulent in all the materials and munitions of war. Men and money flow to its standard in defeat as well as in victory, like the rushing waters of Erie to those of Ontario. All that great wealth, physical bravery, and military skill can do to save the country, will doubtless be done. If we fail, we shall fall by moral causes, not by outward strength, but by internal weakness. Physical power is important—bread is indispensable—but nations, no more than individuals, can live by bread alone. The thing which we wish here and now to urge upon public attention, and which is the central idea of all our lectures through the country, is, that no amount of physical courage or strength can possibly supply the place of wisdom and just ce.

In the prosecution of the war thus far, our Government has shown its poverty and

destitution nowhere more than in respect to these virtues. It has not been *wise*, because it has blindly refused to cultivate the friendship and welcome the co-operation of the four million slaves, the main dependence of the rebels for the money and means for overthrowing the Government. It has not been just in that it has doggedly refused to give liberty to these bondmen, when it has clearly the right and the power to do so, and when it was plainly its duty to do so.

Herein is the weakness of the Government, and if it fails, the failure will be terribly aggravated by this reflection. If the Government could fall in a manly struggle to advance the cause of freedom and justice towards a long enslaved people, it would be glorious even in its fall. But we are fighting no such battle, and hence are trammelled and weakened both from within and from without.—We are still fighting the enemy with only one hand, leaving the other not free, but fettered. We not only refuse to strike the slaveholders with both hands, but so completely disable ourselves by slavery as to give them decided advantages in striking us with both theirs.—The old folly is still upon us, and doing us the utmost damage—the delusive and neither-hot-nor-cold spirit of compromise. Our Government is still in bondage to fear, not that which the battle field inspires, but of the political power of slavery. It is regarded the rock which breaks in pieces all who fall upon it, and grinds into powder all upon whom it falls. Hence we are endeavoring to whip the slaveholders without seriously hurting them. In other words, we are allowing our contempt for the rights of man, and our old scrupulous regard for the interests of slaveholders to control all our movements towards the rebels, hoping to gain by conciliation instead of conquering by arms. Does a poor slave escape from his bondage and seek refuge within our lines on the Potomac—Gen. BANKS promptly permits his recapture and rendition to bondage. Does a man of color offer his services to the Government to aid in suppressing the slaveholding rebellion—his application is contemptuously rejected. Does a Massachusetts regiment allow a few of the colored servants of the officers to appear in uniform—the Secretary of War, Mr. CAMERON, at once orders them to be disrobed. Does Major-General FREMONT proclaim that the slaves of traitors and rebels shall be hereafter treated as free-men—the President of the United States comes promptly forward to shield the rebels from such extreme punishment.

The future historian will look at the facts of this war for the suppression of rebellion with astonishment. He will marvel at the conduct of the Government, and if he writes truly, he will write that while the people had heroism in the field, they had cowardice in the Cabinet, and that the latter counteracted the good effected by the former; that while the brave Northern troops thought they were pouring out their warm hearts' blood for universal liberty, the Cabinet was plotting that no harm should come to slavery; that while a faithful General was levelling his heaviest bolt at the head of rebellion in Missouri, the President was interposing a statute book to soften the blow.

But we are told that this is but the anti-slavery view of the action of the Government towards the war. We admit it, and plead

that it is exceedingly difficult for us, or for anybody else, to contemplate the action of the Federal Government in reference to the present slaveholding rebellion, without making slavery our base line of observation. Every doctrine, principle and measure of the rebels has reference to that system. All that they say of the right of self-government, the defence of their institutions, their homes and their firesides, has no other meaning than the security, safety, prosperity and ascendancy of slavery. The war on their part is a war for slavery, and only for slavery. This is at once the motive, the object, and the means of prosecuting the war. For slavery they brave all danger, endure all hardships, and perpetrate all crimes. This is the unconcealed and everywhere apparent purpose of the rebels. We repeat this, not because it is unknown, but because the fact is sought to be ignored, or is but imperfectly recognized by the Government at Washington.

Up to the present moment it deals only with the fact of rebellion. It sees two or three hundred thousand armed rebels marshaled for the overthrow of the Government, for the dissolution of the Union, and for the erection of a new Government and a new Union on the ruins of the old Government and the old Union; but it does not trouble itself with any other fact.

Herein is the secret of the disapproval of General FREMONT's Proclamation. That document strikes the rebellion at its source. It looks beyond the effect to the cause, and dares to grapple with that cause. It has in it not only the vigor of the warrior, but the wisdom of the statesman. Until the Government shall take similar ground to that proclaimed at St. Louis, it will have failed to have returned the only true and logical answer to the rebels and traitors, and to secure for itself the respect and sympathy of the friends of freedom the world over, and what is better still, the consciousness of having conformed to the highest dictates of justice and wisdom.

BARCLAY COPPIC KILLED.—Our readers will be pained to hear that this noble young man was one of the victims of the unparalleled atrocity on the Hannibal and St. Joseph R.R., two weeks ago, whereby some fifty or sixty of our soldiers were killed, caused by the burning of the timbers of a bridge by the rebels in Missouri. Coppic, recently from Iowa, was a young man of noble soul and undaunted courage, and held the position of Lieutenant in a company in Col. Montgomery's Kansas regiment. It will be remembered that Barclay was with the old martyr John Brown at Harper's Ferry; his brother Edwin was captured and hung, but Barclay escaped. He fled in company with Capt. Cook, and succeeded in eluding pursuit when his companion was taken. There was nothing of the bravado about him. Religiously anti-slavery, he endeavored solely to do what he considered his duty. After his escape from Virginia he spent several days in this city, and paid us a visit at our office. He had then in his possession Gen. Washington's pistol, taken by Capt. Brown from the house of Col. John A. Washington. This Col. Washington has since been shot by our troops while acting as a spy for the rebels. The remains of young Coppic were taken to Leavenworth, and there interred in the cemetery on Pilot Knob. Several military companies were in the procession, and at the conclusion of the religious exercises a military salute was fired over the grave.

GENERAL FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION TO THE REBELS OF MISSOURI.

Considering the position of the State of Missouri, the divided state of its people between loyalty and treason, the geographical relation of the State to its sisters of the free North and the slave South, and the persistent and desperate efforts of the rebels to drive that State out of the Union, and the necessity for prompt and energetic action on the part of the Government, the public have generally concurred in the judgment that General FREMONT is the right man in the right place, and that his now celebrated Proclamation is by far the most important and salutary measure which has thus far emanated from any General during the whole tedious progress of the war. It impressed the country with the idea that the hour, the place and the man were equally well filled. The Proclamation, which we publish elsewhere in our present number, will be seen to be singular only in one of its features; but that particular one happens to be the radical and distinctive feature of the rebellion itself. It takes the bull by the horns at once, and declares the slaves of all duly convicted traitors in the State of Missouri, "FREE MEN." They are not only confiscated property, but *liberated men*.

The paragraph devoted to this subject is remarkably short and simple, but, we think, strong enough to convulse a continent. It caused a shout of joy to burst from the hearts of the genuine lovers of the Union and the rights of mankind, while it carried terror and dismay into the ranks of rebellion. The admission was general and hearty, that the celebrated pathfinder, in this simple document, had successfully marked out, to a bewildered and distracted nation, the true and only wise path out of its troubles and difficulties.

For many days after the publication of FREMONT's Proclamation, the deepest anxiety existed throughout the country to learn whether that remarkable and startling document was the utterance of the Major-General, or that of the Cabinet at Washington—whether, if only from the former, the President would approve it or condemn it? Those who had confidence in the anti-slavery character and disposition of the Administration, unhesitatingly ascribed it to the wisdom, earnestness and courage that controls at Washington. While others, entertaining opposite impressions, openly predicted, what has since transpired, a pointed disapproval by the President of the main feature of FREMONT's Proclamation. The suspense was truly painful, and attested the vast importance attached by the public to the measure. The action of FREMONT was the hinge, the pivot upon which the character of the war was to turn. It was whether the war should be waged against traitors only by the cunning technicalities of the crafty lawyer, or by the cannon and courage of the determined warrior.

Unhappily, as we think, for the country and for humanity, the lawyer has prevailed over the warrior. The President, of whom we would gladly speak naught but good, has interposed, most unseasonably, his Presidential authority, and placed a tame and worthless statute between the rebels and the merited chastisement which a brave and generous General had wisely prepared himself to inflict upon them. Many blunders have been com-

mitted by the Government at Washington during this war, but this, we think, is the hugest of them all. The Government should have thanked their wise and intrepid General for furnishing them an opportunity to convince the country and the world of their earnestness, that they have no terms for traitors; that with them the heaviest blow is the wisest and best blow; and that the rebels must be put down at all hazards, and in the most summary and exemplary way. But, poor souls! instead of standing by the General, and approving his energetic conduct, they have humbled and crippled him in the presence of his enemies. The President interposes to cheapen the price of rebellion, and to let the rebels off on easier terms than that proposed by his faithful General.

We know not upon what maxim of political wisdom the Government has acted in this matter. The Cabinet is composed of reputed wise men, and the President is respected as honest and humane. But this policy is plainly one which can only dishearten the friends of the Government and strengthen its enemies. The *Times* newspaper of New York defends the anti Fremont policy, by alleging that the rigor of that policy would drive the loyal slaveholders in Kentucky and Tennessee into the arms of the rebels. This assumption would have some weight did FREMONT'S Proclamation propose (as it does not) the liberation of the slaves of loyal masters. It strikes only at slaveholding rebels; and to suppose that loyal masters would be driven into disloyalty by the well-merited chastisement of slaveholding rebels, implies that, after all, there is a stronger bond existing between these loyal slaveholders and the slaveholding rebels, than subsists between the former and the Government. Taking this admission to be true, and what is the friendship of these so-called loyal slaveholders worth? The open hostility of these so-called loyal slaveholders is incomparably to be preferred to their friendship. They are far more easily dealt with and disposed of as enemies than as allies. From the beginning, these Border Slave States have been the mill stone about the neck of the Government, and their so-called loyalty has been the very best shield to the treason of the cotton States.

President LINCOLN says in his letter to Gen. FREMONT, that he accords with the general character of his Proclamation. One clause of it only is marked for disapproval, and that is the emancipating clause. Now mark! The Proclamation imposes that most dreaded of all descriptions of law, (except mob law,) martial law upon Missouri. The President approves that. The Proclamation proposes the confiscation of the property of the rebels. The President approves that. The Proclamation proposes that convicted rebels, within certain defined lines, *shall be shot*. The President approves that. The Proclamation proposes that the slaves of duly convicted traitors shall be liberated and treated as *free men*.—Here's the rub; the President does not approve that. Martial law, shooting, confiscation, with all their aggravation, are assented to; but liberation and freedom to the slave are vetoed by the President of the United States. The weakness, imbecility and absurdity of this policy are sufficiently manifest without a single word of comment.

It still remains to be seen what course Gen.

FREMONT will take in view of the restrictions which have thus been thrown around him—whether he will continue in his command, resign, or be dismissed. One thing, however, seems certain: the People confide both in the patriotism and in the ability of FREMONT, and would regard the loss of that able man to the service of the country as little less disastrous and distressing than the defeat of the Government forces by the rebels at Bull Run; and yet, considering the nature of the humiliation sought to be imposed upon the young and spirited General, his resignation would not be a surprise, though a deep regret to the country.

OUR NATIONAL FAST.

In accordance with President LINCOLN'S Proclamation, Thursday, the 26th of September, was generally observed in all the loyal States as a National Fast, a solemn Sabbath, a day of national prayer and humiliation, on account of the dreadful judgments, in the shape of civil war, anarchy and bloodshed, which now desolate the land, and to confess our national sins, and to implore the Divine Aid in our country's deliverance from its manifold evils. Perhaps, no similar fast was ever more generally observed in this country. The town, the city and the country presented the appearance of our ordinary Sabbath.—The workshop and the store in the city were closed and still, and the plow and the field were deserted in the country. A great nation went up that day to the altar of their God, in all the solemn pomp and ceremony of religious worship, to beseech and implore His omnipotent intervention in their favor, as against those who have taken up arms for the destruction of their Government. In matters of this sort the rebels had already outstripped the loyal people. They had their day of solemn fast and prayer some time ago.—Thursday was our day, and no doubt many are looking for marvelous events to follow its solemn observance. Mankind have always, in great emergencies, sought help of invisible powers. Even among the slaves, we have noticed that those fresh from the darkness of Africa would make some incantations to invisible powers when in great difficulties. We once put roots in our own pocket to keep COVEY from cutting our back to pieces. We had little faith in it, and was flogged, and should have been, perhaps, if our faith had been ever so strong. Nevertheless, the disposition to seek supernatural help when in great trouble, is everywhere evident in the history of mankind. When all our earthly helps and hopes break down, fail and vanish, the soul goes up to the Eternal and Invisible for help.

Most men now think that the day of miracles is past; that the rolling asunder of rivers by supernatural agencies, the raining of bread from heaven, the causing the sun to stand still, the direct intervention of a Divine Providence, covering one army with defeat and confusion, and giving victory and security to another, without reference to their relative strength and numbers, is a mode of dealing with the affairs of men no longer resorted to by the Divine Being. Nevertheless, all feel that in some inscrutable way their cause is helped by imitating the example of the Hebrews. They, therefore, call upon God to fight their battles and give them the victory. Upon this point we raise no issue.

There can be no doubt of the subjective good influence of all prayers sincerely uttered for good objects. Men who pray thus will set about answering their own prayers, whether it be to put down rebels in their own souls, or rebels against the State. If they really feel that their sins have made them an abhorrence in the sight of God, and that they are miserable and undone creatures, they will seek goodness and endeavor to act more worthily in time to come, by ceasing to do evil and learning to do well. They will make peace with God only by making peace with themselves. Of this character are the religious ceremonies and the fasts enjoined by the Prophets. They respect the rights, duties and responsibilities of individual men toward each other, or practical righteousness as against all forms and ceremonies.

We have little faith in the efficacy of our present fast. First, because those who proclaimed it failed to recognize the great and all-comprehensive National Sin to which the calamities deplored owe their existence. Our Government nowhere confesses that slavery is our National Sin, nor exhorts to repentance of it. "If," says the Psalmist, "I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me." A frank, specific and honest confession of wrong done, is the first condition of a genuine repentance. Even among men this is essential to forgiveness and restitution to favor. Can Infinite Justice accept less? A man cannot even forgive himself of any violation of law until he has frankly and fully admitted his transgression to himself, and from his inmost soul loathes and detests his own wrong deed. Nations and men are subject to the same moral law. Be not deceived. Whatever a man soweth, that shall he reap.

We have very little faith in our National Fast, in the second place, because there is no purpose avowed to abolish slavery. So far as appears from the history and policy of our present Government, it intends hereafter, as it has intended heretofore, to hold and hunt slaves with savage exactness, fulfilling all the alleged slaveholding requirements of the Constitution with as much promptness and fidelity as though no fast had been held, and no mercy had been implored. The fast is not a repentance of the National Sin, but only of the consequences of that sin. We deplore the calamity which our slavery has brought upon us, but do not deplore slavery itself.—Like the criminal in the hands of the officer of justice, we are less sorry for the theft than for the blunder of allowing ourselves to be caught. We would fain have the rebellion abolished, but we would not lift a finger to have that which causes the rebellion put down and abolished. We would have white men enjoy freedom and safety, but would have four millions of black men ground forever in bondage and chains. Just such fasts were held among the Jews, from whom we have borrowed the practice of great national fasts. The Prophets denounced them as utterly repugnant to the Divine Mind. We cannot do better than to quote here the language of Isaiah:

"Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he

goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.—Wash ye, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.”—ISAIAH, i. 10-17.

“Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast, ye find pleasure, and exact all your labors. Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noonday: and the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.”—ISAIAH lviii. 3-11.

When America shall engage in such a fast, we shall call upon all the mountains and valleys, all the inhabitants of earth, sea and air, to shout the glad tidings, to sing exultingly, to rejoice greatly, and shake heaven with mighty hosannahs to the Great, the Eternal. But until we have such a fast, our religious ceremonies are a stench, an abomination, a solemn mockery, worth only the contempt and scorn of honest men.

THE PRESS AND GEN. FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.—Do not fail to read the various extracts from our exchanges which we publish in our present number concerning this important document. They will enable all to see that the people are ready and eager to support any well aimed blow at the monster parent of all our national troubles. The spirit of freedom is just now checked by the paper statute; but until our Government can bind down the waves of the sea, chain the whirlwind, imprison the lightning, arrest the thunderbolt, and do many other impossible things, they can never extinguish the growing conviction that the one great thing to be done to put down this rebellion, and to restore the country to honorable and permanent peace, is to put down and abolish slavery. Read what the people say, and rejoice with us in hope.

READERS AND SUBSCRIBERS!

We call upon you reluctantly, but earnestly and hopefully, to come to our aid. Many of you have stood by us in our anti-slavery efforts from the day we began to publish a paper devoted to the cause of liberty and humanity, fourteen years ago, until now; and we confidently look for your continued aid until the last chain is broken, and the last slave is set free. No better work was ever offered to human energies than that which looks to the emancipation of the American bondman. Liberty to the slave is peace, honor and prosperity to the country. Until that work is done, all peace is false, all repose is transient, and all national glory is tarnished. The sole condition of safety is the abolition of slavery, the ever pregnant cause of all our national troubles. Who works for the downfall of slavery, works for the salvation of his country and the advancement of mankind to a higher and truer life. It is a vocation fit to live by and to die by.

Under a mistaken sense of the demands of the hour, some are relaxing their anti-slavery exertions, substituting a dead faith for living works, and parting with their old moral instrumentalities for enforcing the claims of justice and humanity upon the heart and conscience of the nation. This is a grievous mistake. Nothing is done till all is done. Opposition to slavery, which springs only from national self-love, is but a poor substitute for that which springs from deep-seated conviction of the wrong, injustice and wickedness of slavery; and such we take your opposition to be. The latter is all that gives strength and dignity to any form of anti-slavery. Let this subside, and all the flood-gates of corruption and compromise are flung open, and the country is flung back into the darkness of thirty years ago. True wisdom suggests only one course to the friends of freedom, and that is to stand by now and to the end all their anti-slavery testimonies and instrumentalities.

Our “*Monthly*,” among the humblest, is an anti-slavery agency. It never has given an uncertain sound to the trump of freedom, and never will. It stands up in behalf of an enslaved and slandered race, and addresses all that is noble, magnanimous, and just, in the American people. Like the woman in the parable, its importunate cry is, “avenge me of mine adversary.” We do not mean that cry shall cease.

It is known to you that our national troubles (engrossing the public mind, arresting the wheels of trade, unsettling credit, drawing off the resources of the country) has must abridged the circulation of all reformatory periodicals. Our paper has been affected thus unfavorably with many others; still, if those who owe for the paper will promptly pay up, and those who love the principles of liberty and humanity, of which it is an advocate, will make some little effort to extend its circulation, the “*Monthly*” will continue to live and bear its testimony as long as the necessity which called it into existence shall continue. Will our friends and readers attend to this our call upon them immediately upon the receipt of this number? Don't forget us in the midst of the exciting events now rocking the land. The amount due us from any one individual is exceeding-

ly small, and on that very account is the more apt to be forgotten and neglected. Bills have been sent to those owing us, and they know just what is due us. Let our friends remember that all these little sums scattered over the country amount to considerable when brought together. They constitute the main support of the paper, and hence it is necessary for every man to pay what is due, however small that sum may be. We want our paper to live to record the death and burial of slavery, and to sing the glad song of jubilee to the sable millions whose cause it has thus far endeavored faithfully and fearlessly to plead. That great event, unless all signs fail, is near at hand, even at the door.

O! speed the year of Jubilee
The wide world o'er!

DEATH OF JOHN M'DOWALL, ESQ.

We much regret to announce the death of our townsman, Mr. John M'Dowall, which took place at Stranraer, of which he was a native, yesterday morning, in the 58th year of his age. During a period of nearly twenty years, the deceased has taken an active part in the public life of Glasgow, as a Town Councillor, a Magistrate, a director of the Caledonian Railway, and as a laborious and devoted member of many of our charitable and educational institutions.—Though he was deficient in those genial qualities and external graces which go to make up that which is termed a “popular man,” no one questioned Mr. M'Dowall's ability, integrity, and kindly nature; and so highly was he esteemed by those who knew him best, that on the last occasion on which the highest municipal appointment in the city was vacant, an influential party in the Town Council was prepared to put him in nomination for the office of Lord Provost; but, from the too substantial plea of the failing state of his health, he induced his friends not to press those claims which, whatever might have been the result, would at least have been respectably supported. A few years ago he rendered very important service to the public in his capacity of chairman of the Barony Parochial Board. At that time the parish was convulsed by the unequal and inquisitorial system of rating by “means and substance,” but mainly by the exertions of the deceased this system was overturned, and the rental mode of assessment adopted in its stead; and since then the affairs of the parish have come round from confusion and semi-bankruptcy to peace and prosperity. On leaving his native town in early life, Mr. M'Dowall had little to recommend him to the world save his intelligence, his industry, and his pure principles; but by means of these he attained an honorable position in the community, and realized an independence through his occupation of an iron-founder.—His health had been much broken of late, and he had proceeded to Stranraer only a few days ago, in pursuit of retirement and relaxation, when serious illness supervened, which rapidly ran to a fatal issue. He died childless, and has left a widow to deplore his loss.—[Glasgow Daily Herald, Sept. 10.]

A short acquaintance with the deceased during our late tour to Scotland, was enough to impress us most favorably with his many excellent qualities of mind and heart. He belonged to the most opulent class of Glasgow, and though deeply interested in the great works of charity in which that city is remarkable, he found time and heart for the cause of the American slave, and never hesitated to give his valuable aid and co-operation in any movement which could, in his judgment, serve that cause. As one among the many indebted to the deceased for his kind and benevolent efforts to advance the interests of humanity, we freely mingle our sincere regret, with that of others, both in this country and his own native land, at his removal from the world.

—James B. Clay, a son of the late Henry Clay, and a rebel, has been taken prisoner by our troops in Kentucky.

THE DUTY OF ABOLITIONISTS IN THE PRESENT STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

By Abolitionists we mean not those who denounce and reprobate those slaveholding rebels who are now, with blackened hearts and bloody hands, waging a ferocious war for the destruction of the American Government: for to denounce these a man needs not a single humane or abolition sentiment in his bosom. Many who have been foremost in upholding slavery, and in traducing Abolitionists, are now loudest in denouncing the rebels and traitors and urging a vigorous prosecution of the war for the preservation of the Government. The loss of Government, the loss of trade, the loss of money, the loss of standing among the nations of the earth, and the like, furnish motives strong enough for all such denunciation, without any hostility to slavery itself. We mean by Abolitionists those noble men and women in the country who believe in the Brotherhood of Man, the right of every man to his own body, to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and who believe that slavery is a great and horrible abomination which ought at once and forever and everywhere to be abolished—those who see in the meanest of all the imbruted and whip-scarred a man and a brother—the question is, What ought such men and women to do in the present awful crisis?

Some say, turn to, with might and main, and help put down this rebellion. That the national house is on fire, and instead now of proposing improvements and reforms in the national family, we should set about saving the house itself. So some men talk, and so, too, they act. The proposition is thus far true, that our first business is to save our Government from destruction. This we firmly hold. No man with an equal share of interest in the American Government can hold it more firmly. And it so happens that precisely that very thing which others are now asserting it to be our duty to do, we Abolitionists have been endeavoring these many years, through good and through evil report, to do during a quarter of a century. The dangerous and demoniacal character of slavery, which has brought the present distress upon us, we have been endeavoring to expose, and to teach the nation they must hate and abolish, or be hated and abolished by it. This has been our talk; and had the nation hearkened to our warnings and entreaties; had even the religious teachers of the country assisted us in enforcing anti-slavery convictions upon the public mind, our land would not now have been plunged into all the troubles of civil war, and the nation rolling in fraternal blood.

But what's done is done. We now have the war upon us, and the question is, What does duty require of us now? We freely confess, that while we should give our money, our sympathy and our arms to the support of our Government, it seems to us, that at the same time we can in no way be of more service to the Government, in no way do more to save our guilty country from destruction, than by doing all we can to make the Government and people an abolition Government and an abolition people, for until both shall become such, it is quite plain that this land is doomed to see no peace. Let us hold our meetings, publish our doctrines, petition the Government, and do all we may to bring this

land to repentance, the nation to treat the negro as a man and a brother, having rights which all men are bound to respect. Then the land may see peace—not else.

Sad indeed will be the fate of the slave if his friends shall now turn away from his cause. If we shall forsake him in this crisis, who shall have the heart to plead for him hereafter? The voice of every Abolitionist should be now, as heretofore, in peace or in war, in season and out of season, the first great duty of the American people is to put down and utterly abolish slavery. This is the best and only secure foundation of permanent peace, union and prosperity.

LETTERS FROM THE OLD WORLD—NO. LXXVI.

22 BUCCLEUCH PLACE, EDINBURGH, }
August 5th, 1861. }

MY DEAR FRIEND:—You will be surprised to receive a letter from me, dated from 'Edina, Scotia's darling seat.' Even to me it seems a dream to be once more under the ever hospitable roof of my much loved friend, that 'mother in Israel,' (as you term her,) dear Mrs. RENTON, and to be looking out upon Arthur's Seat, and Salisbury Craigs. I have been favored in weather; blue skies and bright sunshine have shown off the splendid buildings of this fine city to the best advantage. The beautiful gardens, both of Princes Street and the Castle, are decked in their gayest colors, and contrast finely with the sombre heights of the Castle, and the grandeur of the newly erected Free Assembly Hall, and other fine new buildings, to say nothing of Scott's Monument, and the splendid range of Princes St., (now more grand than ever,) the towering heights of Carlton Hill, crowned with monuments, and magnificent church edifices, whose towers and spires of beauty meet the eye in all directions.

I am never tired of admiring Edinburgh either from the North Bridge, or from the various heights of both the old and new town, which afford travellers such an ample opportunity of surveying their respective beauties. Yet I, this time, look on Edinburgh with sadder eyes than usual. A few years sometimes produce great changes in a circle of friends, and death and sickness have made great inroads here. My dear hostess, once the most active of the active, the most vigorous of the vigorous, in *body* as well as mind, is greatly enfeebled and brought low. The mind is as clear as it was wont to be; the loving heart is as warm as ever; but the frail tabernacle is greatly shattered, and the imprisoned spirit seems preparing to wing its flight to that blest abode, where sickness and decay are unknown, and sorrow never enters. I, who have spent so many happy weeks beneath this privileged roof, holding sweet converse with this wise counselor and much valued friend, cannot but feel sad now, though perhaps this is selfish.

Dear, good Dr. HENRY GREY and his wife have been removed to the better land, since my last visit to Edinburgh, and so have several other excellent friends of mine and of humanity; and now there are homes plunged in affliction and woe, too deep for mortal hand to heal. Human sympathy is sweet, yet how powerless is, at the best, human friendship, to heal the wounds laid bare before it. At such times we can but point to Him who 'healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds.'

I much enjoyed listening, yesterday, to a discourse preached by 'the most popular man in Edinburgh,' (as people call him,) Dr. GUTHRIE. I was fortunate, for it was his first Sunday here after two months' absence. The church was, as usual, crowded to its utmost limits, even though numbers of the Edinburgh families are out of town. Strangers all throng to Dr. GUTHRIE's church—to secure a ticket is always a favor—since thus you obtain a seat without any undue crowding—and I was comfortably seated some twenty minutes before Dr. GUTHRIE walked into the pulpit. He appeared the same both in mind and body as when last I saw him, and no diminution of power was to me perceptible. He possesses the art of rivetting the attention of his hearers so entirely, that throughout his interesting discourse yesterday, it seemed to me some eyes were fixed on him without intermission. His text was taken from the 8th and five following verses of the second chapter of St. James. Although I have the wish, I have not the time to tell you of his discourse. I will but say that he enlarged considerably on the closing paragraph of the text—'Mercy rejoiceth against judgment'—and all who know the character of this truly great and noble hearted man will feel that God's tender mercy is a theme on which he ever loves to dwell, and to which he is ever ready to direct the weary and sin-laden soul. Long, long may the tall form of Dr. GUTHRIE be seen walking up and down the street of Edinburgh, and long may his strong voice and broad Scotch accent be heard in her churches, telling the people not only of her 'sins and sorrows,' but of their privileges and high responsibilities.

Churches have multiplied greatly in this city since my last visit, and I am astonished at the grandeur of some of the new erections. The Free Assembly Hall is a majestic edifice, towering up on the rise of the Castle Hill, and evincing, among other things, that the 'Free Church' of Scotland have vast wealth at its control. In this fine Hall, I, one evening last week, listened, for the first time, to the eloquence of Signor GAVAZZI, who delivered an address on 'the Evangelization of Italy.' He gave a graphic picture of the present state of things in his beloved country. His hopes for the future of Italy, both temporally and spiritually, seem bright, and his eulogisms of GARIBALDI and RICASOLI were great; but I must not enlarge.

LEEDS, August 21st.

It was in the railway carriage, while coming from Edinburgh, that the sounds, 'Defeat of the Federals,' 'Bull Run,' 'Manassas Junction,' first met my ears. If I tell the truth, I may say, my ears tingled with shame, as I heard the gentlemen who were conversing together express their joy that such arrant cowards had been beaten! Every mail since then has brought us further intelligence on the subject; yet I am still in complete doubt as to *how many are killed on either side?* You, my dear friend, will do your British readers a kindness by answering this question, so far as you are able, in the next issue of your paper. Our press copies Southern extracts and Northern extracts from American papers, and we are, thus far, all at sea as to the numbers *really killed*.

Your August paper is before me; but while it speaks of the defeat 'great losses'

and 'sorrow and mourning' being carried in to 'thousands of hearts and homes,' I have no idea whether 20, 200, or 2,000 men are really killed, and conjectures on this point are endless. Many thanks are due to RUSSELL, 'the *Times* correspondent,' for his graphic sketches of the armies, Northern and Southern. There is an old and trite saying, '*the less said, the soonest mended*,' and I dare not allow myself to say much about this '*Bull Run*' matter—for as the accounts come to us, a more thoroughly contemptible scene of cowardice was never opened up to view; and if the poor, timid Northern Government had been graciously pleased to accept the services of a brave band of colored volunteers, previous to this '*Bull Run*' encounter, doubtless those brave men (*deserted and left entirely unsupported* by the runaway cowards) would have fallen a sacrifice without any real gain to the cause of freedom. I fully concur in all you say in your *Bull Run* article—it is for the Government to act, for them to proclaim freedom to the slaves at the South, and then the sympathy of all Europe would be their's. As matters are now, the people here are stultified, and know not what to hope or fear in regard to this war. For my part, I wish that every colored family of the Northern States would cross the frontier, and take up their permanent abode in Canada, where, sheltered beneath the British flag, and freed from the many disabilities that obstruct their onward career, they might become honest and upright citizens of the good Queen Victoria, and kind hosts to the tens of thousands of poor fugitive slaves who now, more than ever, will be fleeing from their cruel taskmasters to a land where liberty is something more than a name! 'God reigns in Eternity,' said that noble man, HENRY WARD BEECHER, to you and to me, once when speaking on the subject of American slavery. We know and feel that He will overrule all this confusion, this wrath of men and clang of arms, for the final deliverance of the poor bondmen, and that He will bring them out of their Southern prison-house as surely as He brought the children of Israel out of Egypt.

There was a glorious celebration held in Leeds, in commemoration of West India Emancipation, on the 1st of August. The chief speakers were Messrs. DAY, MITCHELL, TROY and JOHNSON, all fine representatives of an oppressed race. Dr. C. occupied the chair, and both he and L. considered the crowded meeting a grand success in every point of view. All the speakers acquitted themselves well, and Mr. DAY's speech was most eloquent. I regretted that my visit northwards prevented my being present.

I rejoice greatly that our excellent friend, Dr. CHEEVER, received ere his departure from our shore, an expression (from noble and true friends of the slave) of their admiration of the course he has pursued in respect to the giant sin of his country.

Slavery is such a mighty subject, that when I once begin to touch upon it, all narration of a minor kind is omitted. Not a single word have I said of the Royal Agricultural Show, held in Leeds a few weeks since, and thronged with visitors from all parts of the kingdom. It was open five days, and on the first shilling day there were 73,000 people there. 40,000 were said to be present the day we went; but so vast was the site of

ground on which the show was held, and so admirably were the arrangements conducted, that, by going early, we saw all the wonders without any inconvenience. The weather was delightful, and tens of thousands of people poured into Leeds from all parts of our island. Open house was every where kept, and a general season of rejoicing it was. The exhibition, both as to animals and agricultural implements, was indeed marvelous; and when I say that the visitors could thread their way up and down fourteen miles of alleys, you may have a slight idea of the vastness of the whole.

I have no space now to speak of calm, delightful, lovely FULNECK, with its good Moravian brotherhood and sisterhood of Christian people, who, 'far retired from noise and strife,' dwell in that sweet valley, pursuing the even tenor of their way and training youthful minds in whatsoever things are pure and just and right and good. While passing a portion of one bright summer's day there, I could not help appropriating MOORE's well known lines:

'Sweet "Valley of Fulneck," how calm could I rest
In thy bosom of shade with the friends I love best,' &c.

In this sweet retreat JAMES MONTGOMERY passed many years of his life; and when we reached the ancient Prayer Hall, one of our party struck up his beautiful hymn—

'Forever with the Lord!
Amen! so let it be,
Life from the dead is in that word,
'Tis Immortality,' &c.

One by one we all joined in the chorus. I shall never forget the effect, nor the scene.—You, my dear friend, would have much enjoyed it. Dr. C. pronounced it the most pleasant day he had spent in a long time.

But I must close. With our united kindest regards and best wishes for you and yours, believe me, as always,

Your faithful and affectionate friend,

JULIA G. CROFTS.

THE "CONTRABANDS."—Gen. WOOL, commanding at Fortress Monroe, recently sent a messenger to Washington with dispatches, asking the Government what to with the negroes, upward of 2,000 of whom are now at that Fortress. The President's order amending General Fremont's Proclamation sets the whole question afloat again as regards negroes not directly employed in rebel service who may seek protection within our lines. Gen. Wool is ordered to send to Washington all whom he can spare—the men to be put on the intrenchments, and the women in the camp kitchens, to be paid for their services. Besides 2,000 at the Fortress, there are ten or fifteen on each of our men-of-war which sail from Hampton Roads, who get \$8 a month and found.

No list of escaped slaves having been kept at Washington, as at Fortress Monroe, the precise number is unattainable. According to the estimate of military authorities, however, about 200, who ran from rebel Virginians, are now practically freemen. Of these some are working on intrenchments or elsewhere, and some have disappeared. The number returned to Virginians or Marylanders professing loyalty, is not ascertained.

—It is estimated that General Patterson's division in Virginia cost the Government \$10,000,000 before he was removed, and all he did was to sent back thirty runaway slaves to their masters. Had it not been for him, probably our defeat at Bull Run would never have taken place.

A MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

GENERAL FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.

Head-Quarters, Western Department,
St. Louis, August 31, 1861.

Circumstances in my judgment of sufficient urgency, render it necessary that the Commanding General of this Department should assume the administrative powers of the State. Its disorganized condition, the helplessness of the civil authority, the total insecurity of life, and the devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who infest nearly every county in the State, and avail themselves of the public misfortunes and the vicinity of a hostile force to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily increasing crimes and outrages which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State. In this condition, the public safety and the success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance to the prompt administration of affairs.

In order, therefore, to suppress disorders, to maintain as far as now practicable the public peace, and to give security and protection to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the State of Missouri. The lines of the army occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth, by way of the posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi River.

All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court martial, and, if found guilty, will be shot. The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.

All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges or telegraphs, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemies of the United States in disturbing the public tranquility by creating or circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are, in their own interest, warned that they are exposing themselves.

All persons who have been led away from their allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith. Any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them.

The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of the military authorities the power to give instantaneous effect to existing laws, and to supply such deficiencies as the conditions of war demand. But it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where the law will be administered by the civil officers in the usual manner and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably exercised.

The Commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and, in his efforts for their safety, hopes to obtain not only the acquiescence, but the active support of the people of the country.

J. C. FREMONT,

Major-General Commanding.

THE PRESIDENT CONDEMNS THE GENERAL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 11, '61.

MAJOR GEN. JOHN C. FREMONT: SIR:—Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d inst was just received. Assured that you, upon the ground, could judge better of the necessities of your position that I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of Aug. 31, I perceived no general objection to it; the particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, appeared to me to be objectionable in its non-conformity to the act of

Congress passed the 6th day of last August upon the same subjects, and hence I wrote you expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly.

Your answer just received expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered, that the said clause of the said proclamation be so modified, held and construed, as to conform with and not to transcend the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress entitled 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,' approved Aug. 6, 1861, and that said act be published along with this order.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

THE CONFISCATION ACT.

The act which is to be enforced in Missouri, under Major-General Fremont's proclamation, and to which the President refers in his letter of Sept. 11th, is as follows:

AN ACT TO CONFISCATE PROPERTY USED FOR INSURRECTIONARY PURPOSES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That if, during the present or any future insurrection against the Government of the United States, after the President of the United States shall have declared, by proclamation, that the laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law, any person or persons, his, her, or their agent, attorney, or employee, shall purchase or acquire, sell or give, any property of whatsoever kind or description, with intent to use or employ the same, or suffer the same to be used or employed, in aiding, abetting, or promoting such insurrection or resistance to the laws, or any person or persons engaged therein; or if any person or persons, being the owner or owners of any such property, shall knowingly use or employ, or consent to the use or employment of the same as aforesaid, all such property is hereby declared to be lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found; and it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the same to be seized, confiscated, and condemned.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That such prizes and capture shall be condemned in the District or Circuit Court of the United States having jurisdiction of the amount, or in admiralty in any district in which the same may be seized, or into which they may be taken and proceedings first instituted.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the Attorney-General or any District Attorney of the United States in which said property may at any time be, may institute the proceedings of condemnation, and in such case they shall be wholly for the benefit of the United States; or any person may file an information with such an Attorney, in which case the proceedings shall be for the use of such informer and the United States in equal parts.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That whenever hereafter, during the present insurrection against the Government of the U. S., any person claimed to be held to labor or service under the law of any State shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or by the lawful agent of such person, to take up arms against the United States; or shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or his lawful agent, to work or to be employed in or upon any fort, navy-yard, dock, armory, ship, intrenchment, or in any military or naval service whatsoever, against the Government and lawful authority of the United States, then, and in every such case, the person to whom such labor is claimed to be due shall forfeit his claim to such labor, any law of the State or of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. And when ever thereafter the person claiming such labor

or service shall seek to enforce his claim, it shall be a full and sufficient answer to such claim that the person whose service or labor is claimed had been employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, contrary to the provision of this act. Approved August 6, 1861.

HOW GEN. FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION WAS RECEIVED BY THE PRESS.

IN THE WEST.

[From the Cincinnati Commercial.]

The proclamation addressed to the people of Missouri, by Gen. Fremont, is the subject of general discussion. The morbid sensitiveness of the public mind regarding the relations of slavery and civil war, is likely to cause an exaggerated view of the consequences of this proclamation. It is, indeed, simply the recognition of a military necessity, which has been forced by the secessionists who have invaded Missouri, stirred up neighborhood trifles, and are confiscating and destroying the property and taking the lives of loyal citizens. The secessionists themselves are the real abolitionists. They have made the war, and have forced the negro into it; and they must be the sufferers. The application of General Fremont's proclamation is to them, and to them alone. Loyal citizens will of course still be protected in all their rights under the State laws, property in slaves included. The Confederate Congress has passed a confiscation act, which confiscates 'all property of every description owned, possessed or enjoyed by alien enemies since the 21st of May, 1861.' 'Alien enemies' are people of the North who hold property in the South, or Southern men who refuse to take the rebel test oath. Their property, negroes included, is confiscated; according to the Fremont proclamation only the property of traitors in arms against the Government is confiscated.

[From the Chicago Tribune.]

This important document brings us down to the *hard-pan* of the rebellion. After a world of tribulation and endless expense on account of the savages of North Missouri, who employ their time in bank robbing, land piracy, and the assassination of unarmed travelers, the extreme penalty of the law is to be meted out to all traitors in that section—death to themselves, confiscation of their property, and *freedom to their slaves*. All other methods have been tried, and all have failed. . . . 'Now,' says General Fremont, 'you rebel masters may fight your own slaves. This Republic is too precious to be sacrificed while a weapon is left to defend it, and when you present the alternative of *no country* or *no slavery*, down comes the horrid institution which caused this war.' These, though not the precise words, are the precise meaning of the proclamation, and who shall gainsay it?

[From the Cincinnati Gazette.]

Gen. Fremont's proclamation of the laws of war to the Missouri rebels electrified our people. They received it as evidence that now the rebellion is to be treated as a crime, that the war of rebellion is to be met by the laws of war, and that the Government will now act as if it was in earnest and in the right in putting down the insurrection. Hitherto it has been treated with so much tenderness and distinguished consideration that it has demoralized public sentiment. Men see so much hesitation in the Government, and so much boldness and decision in the rebels, that they almost forget that one is a constitutional Government, and the other a criminal rebellion, and they come almost to regard both as having the same claims and rights. The Government does not treat the rebellion as a crime, and the people, by a gradual process of demoralization, cease to regard it as such. The Government does not even treat it according to the laws of war, and gradually the people come to regard it as only a difference of opinion.

[From the Louisville Journal.]

Whatever may be said respecting the fitness or unfitness of proclaiming martial law in Missouri, few, except the more raving secessionists, will deny that the state of things

which constitutes the alleged necessity for the proclamation arose in the first instance from the failure of Missouri, under the control of a disloyal Governor and Legislature, to protect her loyal citizens and to uphold within her borders the just supremacy of the nation.

[From the Louisville Courier, Secession.]

Major-Gen. Fremont, known to the country principally by his insubordination and speculations in California during the Mexican war, and as the representative of the idea of the abolition of those 'twin relics of barbarism, slavery and polygamy,' in the Presidential canvass of 1856, has issued a proclamation, . . . in which he assumes absolute power over the property and lives of the people of the entire State, and proclaims his intention to be controlled in the exercise of that power only by his sovereign will and pleasure. This extraordinary act is done without a shadow of warrant in the Constitution or the laws, and without a pretense of any. It is an abominable, atrocious and infamous usurpation, by a military subordinate of the President, of powers which to-day are neither exercised nor claimed by the most despotic ruler in Europe—a usurpation which nothing could justify or excuse—a usurpation which outlaws the contemptible tyrant who thus would reduce to a slavery worse and more abject than that which prevails on Southern plantations the white freemen of a sovereign State.

[Here the *Courier* indulges in frantic assertions that Fremont will soon be driven out of Missouri.]

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer.]

There is much speculation in our city to know how the President will treat Fremont's proclamation. As it is directly in the face of Cameron's instructions to Gen. Butler, and Attorney-General Bates's letter to the Marshal of Kansas, many suppose that Fremont has acted on his own responsibility, without any instructions from Washington. Others feel sure that Gen. Fremont would not, of his own accord, assume so great a responsibility as that of changing the hitherto declared policy of the Administration. These latter argue that Frank Blair, who has a brother in the Cabinet, procured authority for the issuing of such a proclamation. One thing is admitted, and that is, that Fremont, by this proclamation, has put himself at the head of the radical Republicans; and that he now overtops Lincoln, Seward and Chase, in the estimation of the great body of his party. He will, for the future, be looked to as the man to give vitality and progress to the great principles of the anti-slavery party; and should the exigency of the country, in the opinion of the leaders, demand the movement, he will be the man who will be put in the President's place as Military Dictator.

[From the St. Louis Republican.]

The proclamation of Major-Gen. Fremont is the most important document which has yet appeared in the progress of the war. Let it be read with careful consideration by every citizen. . . . There is no longer any middle ground or room for traitors where the lawful Government has sway. Gen. Fremont strikes boldly and fearlessly. The consolidated patriotism and the boundless resources of the great Northwest are at his beck. Let every faithful man, by word and deed, give aid and encouragement to this grand movement for the re-establishment of the whole people.

[From the St. Louis Democrat.]

This declaration will attract much attention, as the introduction of a new policy in reference to the slaves of the rebels. It is a marked and bold step, and an evident improvement upon Gen. Butler's course in confiscating the slaves as contraband. The effect of this declaration upon the rebels will be decided. Their slaves are virtually already freed by Fremont's proclamation. This is a heavy blow, properly and opportunely aimed; and will act as a powerful preventive and sedative to those who are predisposed to, or are laboring under the delirium of secession. . . . All honor to Gen. Fremont that he has the sagacity to perceive and justly measure the

extent of the exigency, and to strike boldly and efficiently to meet it. The hearts of the people will warmly respond in gratitude to him for this timely interposition.

[St. Louis Correspondent of the N. Y. Tribune.]

Its appearance caused great sensation, and was generally recognized as turning a new leaf in the history of the war. I have yet to hear of the first Union man in St. Louis who does not heartily indorse it. From Chicago the echoes begin to come back by telegraph, saying, 'It ought to have been done weeks ago; the people are with Fremont, and will do everything to sustain him.' Another dispatch reads: 'It is greeted here with loud cheers by all loyal men. Fremont is the Columbus who is showing the savans how to make the egg stand on end.'

[St. Louis Correspondent of the Evening Post.]

There is not a dozen loyal men of my acquaintance who do not approve it. In fact, it is the best step forward that has been made in this war, and the people admire its bold decisiveness, and are ready to back it up with zeal. But I see in this, as in every thing else, the Administration is disposed to quibble and falter, and destroy the good effect of it by imposing modifications, making the Government become a slave trader. If I judge correctly, the slave trade is not what the people are fighting for, and in confiscating and using negroes as property the Government becomes guilty of the damning sin that has caused all our trouble. When this becomes the policy of the Government, it is not worth saving, and the quicker we have a new and true one the better.

IN THE EAST.

[From the N. Y. Evening Post.]

Mr. Fremont has done what the Government ought to have done from the beginning. War is war. It has certain necessities which cannot be overlooked. It is our right and duty to strike a public enemy in his weakest point. Slavery is the weakest point of the rebels, and when we declare their slaves exempt from obligations to obey them, we only act in self defence. The war power, in terms of actual hostility, may supersede the municipal law. As John Quincy Adams long ago stated in the House of Representatives, 'when a country is invaded, and two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory.' The same speaker showed that this was no theoretic statement, but a practice frequently resorted to by military commanders.

[From the N. Y. Tribune.]

Wherever slavery is strong, there treason is active and furious. Wherever slavery is weak, there rebellion has few adherents. Gen. Fremont gives the slaveholders fair notice that so many of them as aid the rebels will lose their slaves if the rebellion does not succeed. It strikes us that he understands their case, and that if there be such a thing as bringing them to reason, he is the man to do it.

[From the N. Y. Times.]

Gen. Fremont has sounded the key-note of the campaign that will be closed wherever we have a soldier in arms. He has taken a step which cannot fail to produce a very marked effect throughout the South. . . . Hereafter slavery will not be allowed to stand in the way of a vigorous prosecution of the war.—If slaves are employed against the Government, their masters will thereby lose all claim to their services. It is very clear that Fremont's proclamation is, up to this time, by far the most important event of the war.

[From the Albany Journal.]

Gen. Fremont 'hits the nail on the head' exactly, and drives it home. Martial law was indispensable to Missouri. Without it there was neither protection nor safety for its citizens. And he has, also, adopted a just, reasonable and timely policy in regard to the slaves belonging to traitors and rebels. The property of traitors and rebels is, by law, declared confiscated to the State. When slave owners are found with arms and taken prisoners, their slaves are confiscated, but the

Government can neither hold nor sell slaves. So they belong free from necessity. And this is the act of their masters—a penalty for treason—righteous, but too light a penalty.

[From the Albany Statesman.]

If the popular sentiment of the North would have permitted it, the proclamation of Fremont issued to the whole South six months ago, would have saved the Border States and probably the entire South from the ruinous abyss of Secession.

[Washington Correspondent of the N. Y. Times.]

If anything could be received here with greater satisfaction than the success at Hatteras, it was the proclamation issued by Gen. Fremont. I have not seen or heard of one man who does not warmly approve the declaration that the rebels must lose their property, and that the Government will hold its existence as paramount above all consideration for the individual rights of the rebels.

[From the N. Y. Herald.]

This is certainly important intelligence, yet considering the audacities and atrocities of the rebel invasion of Missouri and its local affiliations, Gen. Fremont has been driven to the extremities indicated. . . . The proclamation of emancipation in the rebellious Border slave States, to begin with, as a military movement, it may be contended, would strengthen the military arm of the Government, in calling home from Virginia the troops of the cotton States to look after their negroes. It is enough for the present that the greatest dangers which have ever menaced Southern slavery are the dangers of this rebellion, and that while slavery, especially in the cotton and sugar States, will be perfectly safe under its restoration to the protection of the Union, it is all at sea, without pilot or rudder, under the spurious despotism of Jefferson Davis and his associates.

[From the N. Y. World.]

Whatever complexion affairs may take elsewhere, in Missouri the hour has come—and the man. Boldness of character is a great clarifier of the intellect; and Fremont, who never, in his life, 'let I dare not wait upon I would,' seems to have so clear a perception of what is to be done within the limits of his own military department, and is so prompt in acting on his views that his course will have a marked influence on the subsequent management of the war. Whether the Administration approve, or disapprove, of the decisive step which Gen. Fremont has now taken, his proclamation will prove more fruitful in consequences than any event that has yet transpired since the commencement of hostilities.

[From the N. Y. Independent.]

At length the ax is laid at the root of the tree. The proclamation of General Fremont strikes down the rebellion within the lines of his army of occupation. Men in arms against the Government are not foreign enemies but rebels, to be tried by court-martial, and when convicted, to be shot. . . . But Gen. Fremont's proclamation strikes a yet deeper blow. It not only disarms the rebels, it extirpates the very root of the rebellion, and makes it impossible for its agitators long to pursue it, or to renew it hereafter. . . . It is a tonic to the nation—bracing and exhilarating. In another month we hope to hear him repeat it at Memphis, while Gen. Butler shall echo it from Savannah. We shall be curious to observe the effect of this measure upon the English people.

[From the Boston Post.]

Of the policy of this decided proclamation, of this sending of the shaft home to the heart of the rebellion, there can be little doubt. It is time that the rebels understood that, by their defiance and violation of all law, they have, by their own suicidal hands, struck the first blow to that institution which the political philosophy of Stephens and the sword of Davis would support.

[From the Rochester Union.]

It will unquestionably form the theme of general discussion both North and South, and to a considerable extent constitute the basis of divided opinions in the loyal States. But we trust that when the true purpose of the

proclamation, and the general policy of which it must form an important part, come to be fully explained and understood, there will remain no occasion for serious disagreements among these whose devotedness to the Union and the Constitution knows no conditions or qualifications.

[From the Rochester Express.]

Our readers will not fail to remember the wild hopes which the Southern slaves held in 1856 as the result of the election of John C. Fremont had succeeded in becoming President. Their masters had invented the strange story that Fremont was coming with an army to free them, and false as this was, and much as they attempted to prevent it spreading among their slaves, yet in some portions of Tennessee, the report was so extensively circulated that an insurrection of unknown magnitude came near breaking out. The slaves of that region of country, and in fact all along the Mississippi, have not forgotten these old hopes, and still confidently expect that Fremont will come with an army for their liberation. Under such circumstances, it would not be surprising if the recent proclamation should produce a very great commotion among the slaves along the Mississippi.—The proclamation extends only to Missouri, but the practical effect will be nearly the same as if it reached throughout the entire Southern States, and we may soon expect as a consequence considerable excitement among the negro population.

[From the Rochester Democrat.]

The proclamation is a demonstration which is needed. It strikes the right note, and will be responded to by loyal people everywhere, in the Border States as well as at the North.

[From the Erie True American.]

We have not seen a more hopeful indication that we are to come off conquerors in this contest, than is shadowed forth by the recent proclamation of Gen. Fremont. There is an earnestness and thoroughness in that document which animates loyalty wherever found. Gen. Fremont shows himself up to the emergency. He puts the thing on its proper basis. He crushes rebellious slaveholding on honorable grounds.

[From the Chester County (Pa.) Times.]

In the midst of this general approval, comes up a faint rumbling cry of disaffection, because the slaves of rebels are declared to be FREE MEN. Why, in the name of our country, is this kind of property to be held more sacred than any other? Are they not laboring to raise provisions for the rebels? Are they not employed on their fortifications, and even in a military capacity? No other 'property' can be so important to the rebels. Yet, we have some thin-skinned individuals who demur at this manifest duty of the bold mountaineer commander of our Western army.—The country and the world will commend him for it, and he will add to his fame by being the first to boldly declare such entire confiscation.

[Mrs. Stowe in the N. Y. Independent.]

The hero of the golden gate who opened the doors of that splendid new California world, has long been predestinated in the traditions of the slave as their coming liberator. 'Fremont and liberty' are words that have been coupled in many a song before now—and Fremont has made good the augury. So far as we have seen and heard, this proclamation has met that universal response which the world always accords to a fitting deed done in the fullness of time. We longed for a bold step—we sighed for a victory—and we have got it! It was something to take the shores of North Carolina. Well and gallantly was it done. But this proclamation is a greater victory than that; it will carry with it a swing and impulse—a moral force, which will be felt through all nations. This will be a burning test of the sincerity of those in foreign lands who have said, All our sympathies are with this war when we shall see that it emancipates the slave. Let us see if it proves so. Let us see if they who carped at Butler, though he freed thousands, because he used the legal technics of slave-law to do it, will

now respond to the open trumpet call of Fremont—declaring liberty at a breath to sixty thousand slaves!

[From the Auburn Independent.]

The proclamation of Gen. Fremont is one of the best things that has happened since the war commenced—decidedly a step in advance. . . . It is useless to expect success in this war, until we meet the one grand issue which it involves. It is not only a slaveholders' war, but a war for slavery, and the sooner we see it in this light, the sooner we shall conquer the rebels. We have not to grapple with the disorganizers on their chosen ground—they mean to search the nation's heart on this subject. The necessity which has controlled the action of Gen. Fremont, exists everywhere, and everywhere demands the same decisive course. We must subdue the slaveholding rebels, or be subdued by them.—They have left us no other alternative; we must do or die.

[From the Syracuse Standard.]

This is the forerunner of other like proclamations by our commanding officers. One by one the rebellious States will be declared free, until the sun shall not rise upon a slave within the wide limits of our Republic. Patriots and philanthropists have long hoped for peaceful emancipation, not dreaming that the occasion for using violent measures would ever come. They did not suppose that the slave oligarchy were so blind and desperate as to make open war upon the Government. They did not believe that this power would ever attempt to try titles with a free people on the battle-field. But it has ventured on the fatal experiment, and must go to the wall, adding one more to the example of those who, taking the sword, perished by the sword.

[From the American Wesleyan.]

It stirs the heart like the blast of a trumpet to read the proclamation by General Fremont. We have wanted some decisive act of this stamp before. Russell, the London *Times* correspondent, will think better of the military commandant of the Western District after reading this order. At least it will be admitted, if he has yet to prove his ability to 'lead large columns successfully,' that he knows how to open a campaign.

DEED OF MANUMISSION.

Gen. Fremont, before the arrival of the President's letter, had given freedom to a considerable number of slaves in accordance with his proclamation. His mode of action may be seen in the following deed of manumission:

Whereas, Thomas L. Snead, of the city and county of St. Louis, State of Missouri, has been taking an active part with the enemies of the United States, in the present insurrectionary movement against the Government of the United States. Now, therefore, I, John Charles Fremont, Major-General commanding the Western Department of the Army of the United States, by authority of law and the power vested in me as such commanding General, declare Hiram Reed, heretofore held to service or labor by Thomas L. Snead, to be FREE, and forever discharged from the bonds of servitude, giving him full right and authority to have, use and control his own labor or service as to him may seem proper, without any accountability whatever to said Thomas L. Snead, or any one to claim by, through, or under him.

And this deed of Manumission shall be respected and treated by all persons, and in all Courts of Justice, as the full and complete evidence of the freedom of said Hiram Reed.

In testimony whereof, this act is done at headquarters of the Western Department of the Army of the United States, in the city of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on this 12th day of September, A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-one, as is evidenced by the Departmental Seal hereto affixed by my order.

J. C. FREMONT,

Major-General Commanding.

Done at the office of the Provost-Marshal, in the city of St. Louis, this 12th day of September, A. D., 1861, at 9 o'clock in the evening of said day.

Witness my hand and seal of office hereto affixed.

J. MCKINSTRY,

Brigadier-General, Provost-Marshal.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY CONDEMNED.

It is a pity that Gen. Fremont has been required to suspend his beneficent labors, and no longer pursue a line of action which promised to be more effectual than any other for the suppression of the rebellion. There were rumors that he was about to resign, but they are not credited by those most likely to reflect his feelings and views.

The press of the North are nearly unanimous in condemning the President's letter, as it will not only take away the penalty of rebellion and leave the war a mere chance for mutual assassins, but it will have a bad effect in Missouri, and that backward steps now will lead to no good results. The President's course has excited great surprise in St. Louis. A correspondent of the *N. Y. Tribune* in that city says:

'But even rebellion, it seems, cannot destroy the sacredness of slavery. The proclamation is countermanded at Washington. The reason given for it is, that it imperilled the Union cause in Kentucky! It might have hurt somebody's feelings; it might have turned the scale of a loyalty, so doubtful that it was trembling in the balance! The Government to day is powerless to protect Union men over half the State of Missouri; and its solicitude to save the slaves of rebels fighting against it, from emancipation, is, to say the least, remarkable. It is too late, however, as regards two negroes lately belonging to Thomas L. Snead, a satellite of Claib. Jackson, who is serving in the rebel army, for they have received deeds of manumission from Gen. Fremont, and left the State this morning. One of them, named Frank Lewis, is an intelligent young mulatto, with some education, and has gone to Massachusetts to commence the world anew on his own account.'

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12, 1861.

DEAR SIR: I hasten to place in your hands the enclosed correspondence with the President of the United States. The action which he has taken was firm and decided, and must prove satisfactory to the friends of the Union in Kentucky.

The act of Congress alluded to was a necessity under the circumstances, and was fully justified by the usages of civilized warfare. The Government has the same right to confiscate slaves engaged in digging trenches or mounting guns for the rebels that it has to confiscate their arms when captured during the progress of the war; but, having confiscated them, Congress goes no further. Upon this law the President stands firmly, and in doing so, and in disavowing Gen. Fremont's proclamation, he gives another of the ever multiplying proofs of the war, which is one for national existence, does not seek to extinguish or interfere with slavery as established in the States. If this institution suffers detriment from the events or issues of the rebellion, the blow will come from those who, under the pretence of defending it, are striking at the life of a Government under whose constitution it has enjoyed complete shelter and protection for three quarters of a century.

The occupation of Columbus by armed Tennesseans, under the leadership of Bishop Polk and Pillow, has excited no surprise here where the unscrupulous character and ultimate aims of the rebel chieftains are well understood. So long as Kentucky maintained that most illusory of all attitudes—neutrality—and carefully guarded an extended and exposed position of the frontier of the Rebel Government—in a word, so long as she subverted the purposes of the conspirators seeking the overthrow of the Republic, and gave reason to hope that she would finally unite her fortunes with them, she was graciously let alone; so soon, however, as she declared her loyalty to a Government to which she is indebted for all her prosperity, and to which she is united by the most solemn ties of duty, of affection, and of interest, her soil is ruthlessly invaded, under the promptings and guidance of traitors in her own bosom; her vote at the polls is now to be reversed by the bayonets of Tennesseans and the proud old Commonwealth reduced to the condition of a conquered province of that political Pandemonium called the Southern Confederacy. Those who have read the history and know the spirit of her people can have no fears as to the result of this audacious assault upon her honor and independence. The Govern-

ment here will give all possible support to the State at the earliest moment practicable.

Very sincerely yours, J. HOLT.
Gen. JAS. SPEED, Frankfort, Ky.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.

DEAR SIR: The late act of Congress providing for the confiscation of the estates of persons in open rebellion against the Government, was as a necessary war measure accepted and fully approved by the loyal men of the country. It limited the penalty of confiscation of property actually employed in the service of the rebellion with the knowledge and consent of its owners, and, instead of emancipating slaves thus employed, left their status to be determined either by the Courts of the United States or by subsequent legislation. The proclamation, however, of Gen. Fremont, under date of the 30th of August, transcends, and of course violates the law in both these particulars, and declares that the property of rebels, whether used in support of the rebellion or not, shall be confiscated, and if consisting in slaves, that they shall be at once manumitted. The act of Congress referred to was believed to embody the Conservative policy of your Administration upon this delicate and perplexing question, and hence the loyal men of the Border Slave States have felt relieved of all fears of any attempt on the part of the Government of the United States to liberate suddenly in their midst a population unprepared for freedom and whose presence could not fail to prove a source of painful apprehension if not of terror to the homes and families of all.—You may therefore well judge of the alarm and condemnation with which the Union loving citizens of Kentucky—the State with whose popular sentiment I am best acquainted—have read this proclamation.

The hope is earnestly indulged by them as it is by myself, that this paper was issued under the pressure of a military necessity which Gen. Fremont believed justified the step, but that in the particulars specified it has not your approbation, and will not be enforced in derogation of law. The magnitude of the interest at stake and my extreme desire that by no misapprehension of your sentiments or purposes shall the power and fervor of the loyalty of Kentucky be at this moment abated or chilled, must be my apology for the frankness with which I have addressed you, and for the request I venture to make of the expression of your views upon the points of Gen. Fremont's proclamation, on which I have commented.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,
your obedient servant, J. HOLT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Sept. 12, 1861.

Hon. JOSEPH HOLT—Dear Sir: Yours of this day in relation to the late proclamation of Gen. Fremont is received. Yesterday I addressed a letter to him by mail, on the same subject, and which is to be made public when he receives it. I herewith send you a copy of that letter, which perhaps shows my position as distinctly as any new one I could write. I will thank you not to make it public until Gen. Fremont shall have had time to receive the original.

Your obedient servant,
A. LINCOLN.

—Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, late Chaplain in one of the New York regiments, recently stated in a sermon that the place of John Brown's execution had lately been visited by more than 30,000 Northern soldiers, and that a tree, under the shadow of which his body rested after it was taken down from the gallows, had been literally cut up into souvenirs, to be sent off in letters or retained in memory of the hero of Harper's Ferry.

—Rev. Dr. Cheever has prepared an Address entitled, "The Voice of Christian England for the Emancipation of the Slave." He delivered this discourse in his own church in New York on Sunday last.

—We are pleased to observe that our old friend Dr. John S. Rock, a colored physician in Boston, has been examined and admitted to practice in all the courts of law in Massachusetts.

—Mr. Hamilton, a Canadian, and a fighting man in our Mexican war, recently offered to our Government a brigade of 5,000 colored men to be raised in Canada West. Of course the offer was not accepted.

Nat Turner's Insurrection.

[From the Atlantic Monthly, for August, 1861.]

[CONCLUDED.]

There is one touching story, in connection with these terrible retaliations, which rests on good authority, that of the Rev. M. B. Cox, a Liberian missionary, then in Virginia. In the hunt which followed the massacre, a slaveholder went into the woods, accompanied by a faithful slave, who had been the means of saving his life during the insurrection. When they had reached a retired place in the forest, the man handed his gun to his master, informing him that he could not live a slave any longer, and requesting him either to free him or shoot him on the spot. The master took the gun, in some trepidation, levelled it at the faithful negro, and shot him through the heart. It is probable that this slaveholder was a Dr. Blunt—his being the only plantation where the slaves were reported as thus defending their masters. 'If this be true,' said the *Richmond Enquirer*, when it first narrated this instance of loyalty, 'great will be the desert of these noble-minded Africans.' This 'noble minded African,' at least, estimated his own desert at a high standard: he demanded freedom—and obtained it.

Meanwhile the panic of the whites continued; for, though all others might be disposed of, Nat Turner was still at large.—We have positive evidence of the extent of the alarm, although great efforts were afterwards made to represent it as a trifling affair. A distinguished citizen of Virginia wrote three months later to the Hon. W. B. Seabrook of South Carolina:—'From all that has come to my knowledge during and since that affair, I am convinced most fully that every black preacher in the country east of the Blue Ridge was in the secret.' 'There is much reason to believe,' says the Governor's message on December 6th, 'that the spirit of insurrection was not confined to Southampton. Many convictions have taken place elsewhere, and some few in distant counties.' The withdrawal of the United States troops, after some ten days' service, was a signal for fresh excitement, and an address, numerously signed, was presented to the United States Government, imploring their continued stay. More than three weeks after the first alarm, the Governor sent a supply of arms into Prince William, Fauquier, and Orange Counties.—'From examinations which have taken place in other counties,' says one of the best newspaper historians of the affair, (in the *Richmond Enquirer* of September 6th.) 'I fear that the scheme embraced a wider sphere than I at first supposed.' Nat Turner himself, intentionally or otherwise, increased the confusion by denying all knowledge of the North Carolina outbreak, and declaring that he had communicated his plans to his four confederates within six months; while, on the other hand, a slave-girl, sixteen or seventeen years old, belonging to Solomon Parker, testified that she had heard the subject discussed for eighteen months, and that at a meeting held during the previous May, some eight or ten had joined the plot.

It is astonishing to discover, by laborious comparison of newspaper files, how vast was the immediate range of these insurrectionary alarms. Every Southern State seems to have borne its harvest of terror. On the Eastern shore of Maryland great alarm was at once manifested especially in the neighborhood of Easton and Snowhill; and the houses of colored men were searched for arms even in Baltimore. In Delaware, there were similar rumors through Sussex and Dover Counties; there were arrests and executions; and in Somerset County great public meetings were held to demand additional safeguards. On election-day, in Seaford, Del., some young men, going out to hunt rabbits, discharged their guns in sport; the men being absent, all the women in the vicinity took to flight; the alarm spread like the 'Ipswich Fright'; soon Seaford was thronged with armed men; and when the boys returned from hunting, they found cannon drawn out to receive them.

In North Carolina, Raleigh and Fayetteville were put under military defence, and women and children concealed themselves in the swamps for many days. The rebel organization was supposed to include two thousand. Forty-six slaves were imprisoned in Union County, twenty five in Sampson County, and twenty-three at least in Duplin County, some of whom were executed. The panic also extended into Wayne, New Hanover, and Le noir Counties. Four men were shot without trial in Wilmington—Nimrod, Abraham, Prince, and 'Dan the Drayman,' the latter a man of seventy—and their heads placed on poles at the four corners of the town. Nearly two months afterwards the trials were still continuing; and at a still later day, the Governor in his proclamation recommended the formation of companies of volunteers in every county.

In South Carolina, General Hayne issued a proclamation 'to prove the groundlessness of the existing alarms'—thus implying that serious alarms existed. In Macon, Georgia, the whole population were roused from their beds at midnight by a report of a large force of armed negroes five miles off. In an hour, every woman and child was deposited in the largest building of the town, and a military force hastily collected in front. The editor of the *Macon Messenger* excused the poor condition of his paper, a few days afterwards, by the absorption of his workmen in patrol duties, and describes 'dismay and terror' as the condition of the people, of 'all ages and sexes.' In Jones, Twiggs, and Monroe Counties, the same alarms were reported; and in one place 'several slaves were tied to a tree, while a militia captain backed at them with his sword.'

In Alabama, at Columbus and Fort Mitchell, a rumor was spread of a joint conspiracy of Indians and negroes. At Claiborne the panic was still greater; the slaves were said to be thoroughly organized through that part of the State, and multitudes were imprisoned; the whole alarm being apparently founded on one stray copy of the *Liberator*.

In Tennessee, the Shelbyville *Freeman* announced that an insurrectionary plot had just been discovered, barely in time for its defeat, through the treachery of a female slave. In Louisville, Kentucky, a similar organization was discovered or imagined, and arrests were made in consequence. 'The papers, from motives of policy, do not notice the disturbance,' wrote one correspondent to the *Portland Courier*. 'Pity us!' he added.

But the greatest bubble burst in Louisiana. Capt. Alexander, an English tourist, arriving in New Orleans at the beginning of September, found the whole city in tumult. Handbills had been issued, appealing to the slaves to rise against their masters, saying that all men were born equal, declaring that Hannibal was a black man, and that they also might have great leaders among them. Twelve hundred stand of weapons were said to have been found in a black man's house; five hundred citizens were under arms, and four companies of regulars were ordered to the city, whose barracks Alexander himself visited.

If such were the alarm in New Orleans, the story, of course, lost nothing by transmission to other slave States. A rumor reached Frankfort, Kentucky, that the slaves already had possession of the coast, both above and below New Orleans. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that all this seems to have been a mere revival of an old terror, once before excited and exploded. The following paragraph had appeared in the *Jacksonville (Ga.) Observer*, during the spring previous:—

'FEARFUL DISCOVERY.—We were favored, by yesterday's mail, with a letter from New Orleans, of May 1st, in which we find that an important discovery had been made a few days previous in that city. The following is an extract:—"Four days ago, as some planters were digging under ground, they found a square room containing eleven thousand stand of arms, and fifteen thousand cartridges, each of the cartridges containing a bullet." It is said the negroes intended to rise as soon as the sickly

season began, and obtain possession of the city by massacring the white population. The same letter states that the Mayor had prohibited the opening of Sunday-schools for the instruction of blacks, under a penalty of five hundred dollars for the first offence, and for the second, death.'

Such were the terrors that came back from nine other slave States, as the echo of the voice of Nat Turner; and when it is also known that the subject was at once taken up by the legislatures of other States, where there was no public panic, as in Missouri and Tennessee—and when, finally, it is added that reports of insurrection had been arriving all that year from Rio Janeiro, Martinique, St. Jago, Antigua, Caraccas, and Tortola, it is easy to see with what prolonged distress the accumulated terror must have weighed down upon Virginia, during the two months that Nat Turner lay hid.

True, there were a thousand men in arms in Southampton County, to inspire security.—But the blow had been struck by only seven men before; and unless there were an armed guard in every house, who could tell but any house might at any moment be the scene of new horrors? They might kill or imprison unresisting negroes by day, but could they resist their avengers by night? 'The half cannot be told,' wrote a lady from another part of Virginia, at this time, 'of the distresses of the people. In Southampton County, the scene of the insurrection, the distress beggars description. A gentleman who has been there says that even here, where there has been great alarm, we have no idea of the situation of those in that county. . . . I do not hesitate to believe that many negroes around us would join in a massacre as horrible as that which has taken place, if an opportunity should offer.'

Meanwhile the cause of all this terror was made the object of desperate search. On September 17th, the Governor offered a reward of five hundred dollars for his capture, and there were other rewards swelling the amount to eleven hundred dollars—but in vain. No one could track or trap him. On Sept. 30th, a minute account of his capture appeared in the newspapers, but it was wholly false. On October 7th, there was another, and on October 18th, another; yet all without foundation. Worn out by confinement in his little cave, Nat Turner grew more adventurous, and began to move about stealthily by night, afraid to speak to any human being, but hoping to obtain some information that might aid his escape. Returning regularly to his retreat before daybreak, he might possibly have continued this mode of life until pursuit had ceased, had not a dog succeeded where men had failed. The creature accidentally smelt out the provisions hid in the cave, and finally led thither his masters, two negroes, one of whom was named Nelson. On discovering the terrible fugitive, they fled precipitately, when he hastened to retreat in an opposite direction. This was on October 15th, and from this moment the neighborhood was all alive with excitement, and five or six hundred men undertook the pursuit.

It shows a more than Indian adroitness in Nat Turner to have escaped capture any longer. The cave, the arms, the provisions were found; and lying among them the notched stick of this miserable Robinson Crusoe, marked with five weary weeks and six days.—But the man was gone. For ten days more he concealed himself among the wheat stalks on Mr. Francis's plantation, and during this time was reduced almost to despair. Once he decided to surrender himself, and walked by night within two miles of Jerusalem before his purpose failed him. Three times he tried to get out of that neighborhood, but in vain: travelling by day was, of course, out of the question, and by night he found it impossible to elude the patrol. Again and again, therefore, he returned to his hiding place, and during his whole two months' liberty never went five miles from the Cross Keys. On the 25th of October, he was at last discovered by Mr. Francis, as he was emerging from a stalk.—A load of buckshot was instantly discharged

at him, twelve of which passed through his hat as he fell to the ground. He escaped even then, but his pursuers were rapidly concentrating upon him, and it is perfectly astonishing that he could have eluded them for five days more.

On Sunday, Oct. 30th, a man named Benj. Phipps, going out for the first time on patrol duty, was passing at noon a clearing in the woods where a number of pine-trees had long since been felled. There was a motion among their boughs; he stopped to watch it; and through a gap in the branches he saw, emerging from a hole in the earth beneath, the face of Nat Turner. Aiming his gun instantly, Phipps called on him to surrender. The fugitive, exhausted with watching and privation, entangled in the branches, armed only with a sword, had nothing to do but to yield; sagaciously reflecting, also, as he afterwards explained, that the woods were full of armed men, and that he had better trust fortune for some latter chance of escape, instead of desperately attempting it then. He was correct in the first impression, since there were fifty armed scouts within a circuit of two miles.—His insurrection ended where it began; for this spot was only a mile and a half from the house of Joseph Travis.

Torn, emaciated, ragged, 'a mere scarecrow,' still wearing the hat perforated with buckshot, with his arms bound to his sides, he was driven before the levelled gun to the nearest house, that of a Mr. Edwards. He was confined there that night; but the news had spread so rapidly that within an hour after his arrival a hundred persons had collected, and the excitement became so intense 'that it was with difficulty he could be conveyed alive to Jerusalem.' The enthusiasm spread instantly through Virginia; Mr. Trezvant, the Jerusalem postmaster, sent notices of it far and near; and Governor Floyd himself wrote a letter to the *Richmond Enquirer* to give official announcement of the momentous capture.

When Nat Turner was asked by Mr. T. R. Gray, the counsel assigned him, whether, although defeated, he still believed in his own Providential mission, he answered, as simply as one who came thirty years after him, 'Was not Christ crucified?' In the same spirit, when arraigned before the court, 'he answered, "Not guilty," saying to his counsel that he did not feel so.' But apparently no argument was made in his favor by his counsel, nor were any witnesses called—he being convicted on the testimony of Levi Waller, and upon his own confession, which was put in by Mr. Gray, and acknowledged by the prisoner before the six justices composing the court, as being 'full, free, and voluntary.' He was therefore placed in the paradoxical position of conviction by his own confession, under a plea of 'Not guilty.' The arrest took place on the 30th of October, 1831, the confession on the 1st of November, the trial and conviction on the 5th, and the execution on the following Friday, the 11th of November, precisely at noon. He met his death with perfect composure, declined addressing the multitude assembled, and told the sheriff in a firm voice that he was ready. Another account says that he 'betrayed no emotion, and even hurried the executioner in the performance of his duty.' 'Not a limb nor a muscle was observed to move. His body, after his death, was given over to the surgeons for dissection.'

This last statement merits remark. There would be no evidence that this formidable man was not favored during his imprisonment with that full measure of luxury which slave-jails afford to slaves, but for a rumor which arose after the execution, that he was compelled to sell his body in advance, for purposes of dissection, in exchange for food.—But it does not appear probable, from the known habits of Southern anatomists, that any such bargain could have been needed.—For in the circular of the South Carolina Medical School for that very year, I find this remarkable suggestion:—'Some advantages of a peculiar character are connected with this institution. No place in the United

States affords so great opportunities for the acquisition of medical knowledge, subjects being obtained among the colored population in sufficient number for every purpose, and proper dissections carried on without offending any individual.' What a convenience, to possess for scientific purposes a class of population sufficiently human to be dissected, but not human enough to be supposed to take offence at it! And as the same arrangement may be supposed to have existed in Virginia, Nat Turner would hardly have gone through the formality of selling his body for food to those who claimed its control at any rate.

The Confession of the captive was published under authority of Mr. Gray, in a pamphlet, at Baltimore. Fifty thousand copies of it are said to have been printed, and it was 'embellished with an accurate likeness of the brigand, taken by Mr. John Crawley, portrait painter, and lithographed by Endicott & Swett, at Baltimore.' The newly published *Liberator* said of it, at the time, that it would 'only serve to rouse up other leaders, and hasten other insurrections,' and advised grand juries to indict Mr. Gray. I have never seen a copy of the original pamphlet; it is not to be found in any of our public libraries, and I have heard of but one as still existing, although the Confession itself has been repeatedly reprinted. Another small pamphlet containing the main features of the outbreak, was published at New York during the same year, and this is in my possession. But the greater part of the facts which I have given were gleaned from the contemporary newspapers.

Who now shall go back thirty years and read the heart of this extraordinary man, who, by the admission of his captors, 'never was known to swear an oath or drink a drop of spirits'—who, on the same authority, 'for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension was surpassed by few men,' 'with a mind capable of attaining anything'—who knew no book but his Bible, and that by heart—who devoted himself soul and body to the cause of his race, without a trace of personal hope or fear—who laid his plans so shrewdly that they came at last with less warning than any earthquake on the doomed community around—and who, when that time arrived, took the life of man, woman, and child, without a throb of compunction, a word of exultation, or an act of superfluous outrage? Mrs. Stowe's 'Dred' seems dim and melodramatic beside the actual Nat Turner. De Quincey's 'Avenger' is his only parallel in imaginative literature: similar wrongs, similar retribution. Mr. Gray, his self-appointed confessor, rises into a sort of bewildered enthusiasm, with the prisoner before him. 'I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned-hole of the prison. The calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions, the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm, still bearing the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him, clothed with rags and covered with chains, yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man—I looked on him, and the blood curdled in my veins.'

But the more remarkable the personal character of Nat Turner, the greater the amazement felt that he should not have appreciated the extreme felicity of his position as a slave. In all insurrections, the standing wonder seems to be that the slaves most trusted and best used should be the most deeply involved. So in this case, as usual, they resorted to the most astonishing theories of the origin of the affair. One attributed it to Free-Masonry, and another to free whiskey—liberty appearing dangerous, even in these forms. The poor whites charged it upon the free colored people, and urged their expulsion, forgetting that in North Carolina the plot was betrayed by one of this class, and that in Virginia there were but two engaged, both of whom had slave-wives. The slaveholding clergymen traced it to want of knowledge of

the Bible, forgetting that Nat Turner knew scarcely anything else. On the other hand, 'a distinguished citizen of Virginia' combined in one sweeping denunciation 'Northern incendiaries, tracts, Sunday-schools, religion, reading, and writing.'

But whether the theories of its origin were wise or foolish, the insurrection made its mark, and the famous band of Virginia emancipationists who had all that winter made the House of Delegates ring with unavailing eloquence—till the rise of slave-exportation to new cotton regions stopped their voices—were but the unconscious mouth-pieces of Nat Turner.

In January, 1832, in reply to a member who had called the outbreak a 'petty affair,' the eloquent James McDowell thus described the impression it left behind:—'Now, Sir, I ask you, I ask gentlemen, in conscience to say, was that a "petty affair" which startled the feelings of your whole population—which threw a portion of it into alarm, a portion of it into panic—which wrung out from an affrighted people the thrilling cry, day after day, conveyed to your Executive, "We are in peril of our lives; send us an army for defence?" Was that a "petty affair" which drove families from their homes—which assembled women and children in crowds, without shelter, at places of common refuge, in every condition of weakness and infirmity, under every suffering which want and terror could inflict, yet willing to endure all, willing to meet death from famine, death from climate, death from hardships, preferring anything rather than the horrors of meeting it from a domestic assassin? Was that a "petty affair" which erected a peaceful and confiding portion of the State into a military camp—which outlawed from pity the unfortunate beings whose brothers had offended—which barred every door, penetrated every bosom with fear or suspicion—which so banished every sense of security from every man's dwelling, that, let but a hoof or horn break upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart, the husband would look to his weapon, and the mother would shudder and weep upon her cradle? Was it the fear of Nat Turner, and his deluded, drunken handful of followers, which produced such effects? Was it this that induced distant counties, where the very name of Southampton was strange, to arm and equip for a struggle? No, Sir, it was the suspicion eternally attached to the slave himself—the suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every family—that the same bloody deed might be acted over at any time and in any place—that the materials for it were spread through the land, and were always ready for a like explosion. Nothing but the force of this withering apprehension—nothing but the paralyzing and deadening weight with which it falls upon and prostrates the heart of every man who has helpless dependants to protect—nothing but this could have thrown a brave people into consternation, or could have made any portion of this powerful Commonwealth, for a single instant, to have quailed and trembled.'

While these things were going on, the enthusiasm for the Polish Revolution was rising to its height. The nation was ringing with a peal of joy, on hearing that at Frankfort the Poles had killed fourteen thousand Russians. The *Southern Religious Telegraph* was publishing an impassioned address to Kosciusko; standards were being consecrated for Poland in the larger cities; heroes, like Skrzynecki, Czartoryski, Rozyski, Kaminski, were choking the trump of Fame with their complicated patronymics. These are all forgotten now; and this poor negro, who did not even possess a name, beyond one abrupt monosyllable—for even the name of Turner was the master's property—still lives a memory of terror and a symbol of retribution triumphant.

—Major-General Fremont, immediately after the surrender of Lexington to the rebels, took the field in person, and he will probably be heard from soon.

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION—CELEBRATION IN LEEDS, ENGLAND.

[From the Leeds Mercury, August 3d, 1861.]

The twenty-seventh anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves in our West Indian possessions was celebrated on Thursday evening, by a meeting held in the Music Hall, under the auspices of the Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. There was a crowded audience, and the proceedings derived their chief interest from the presence of several gentlemen of color, who were expected to address the meeting. The Rev. Dr. CROFTS was called upon to preside, and there were also present the Rev. A. Mursell, of Manchester; the Rev. F. Edwards, B.A., Rev. N. Brown; Mr. Councillor Carter, Mr. E. Morgan, Mr. Whiting, Mr. John Andrew, Jr., Mr. Pullan, Mr. George Flint, and Mr. James Walker, the hon. Secretaries; Mr. W. H. Day, M.A., Rev. W. Troy, Rev. W. Mitchell, and Mr. R. M. Johnson, all colored gentlemen from America; and a large number of ministers and delegates attending the Methodist Free Church Assembly, now being held in Leeds. After singing and prayer,

The CHAIRMAN observed that they were met to commemorate one of the proudest days in British history—that of the emancipation of her slaves. (Applause.) It was long their boast before that period that no slave could breathe in England, but alas! there were thousands in our colonies who were held in the iron grasp of slavery, and who had to suffer all the giant evils connected with that hell-born system. But England had wiped away the blot from her escutcheon, and it was now the duty of Englishmen to seek to free from thralldom every brother in the earth, be the color of his skin what it may. (Hear, hear.) At the present moment there were four millions of human beings enduring the vilest system of slavery that the world ever saw. Americans boasted of their Christianity, but what kind of Christianity was that which could hold these human beings in bondage? He had no faith in the present struggle in America. Some people thought that the Northern States were fighting against the South to put down slavery. This was not the case, but he trusted that something would turn up by which the slaves would obtain their liberty. (Cheers.) The Chairman adverted to his own experience in Canada, where he had himself seen the horrors of slavery, and briefly explained the object of the visit of the gentlemen of color to this country.

Mr. W. H. DAY, M.A., of Chatham, Canada West, (President of the General Board of Commissioners of the colored people, who sent out the Niger Valley exploring expedition,) was then introduced, and delivered an address characterized by great power and eloquence. After some introductory remarks, he said he loved to go back to the time when the 800,000 slaves in the West Indies were emancipated; just twenty-seven years ago they received this boon of liberty. They were told that, gathering in their houses for prayer, they erected their Ebenezers to God for their deliverance, and in solemn silence for the few moments before twelve o'clock they thanked Him for the blessing of liberty that was to descend upon them. There were those who asked why they held such a celebration as that? First, he replied, because the work done on the 1st of August, 1834, was the apex, the crowning point, of the efforts for the abolition of slavery in those countries which were under British rule. It was not the first time that England had stepped forward and given liberty to the slave, for so far back as 1772 it was decided by Lord Mansfield that the law of this country was so incompatible with slavery that if a man brought his slave here, though only for a temporary purpose, that slave was entitled to his liberty. The result of the movement in opposition to this evil was gradually developed, first in the abolition of the slave trade, which had a quasi recognition by the law, and then in the year 1834, by the 800,000 slaves in the West

Indies being converted from things into free men, women and children. (Cheers.) And what had this accomplished? He answered briefly—if it were not sufficient to have made these 800,000 into men—that the people, as the result, had wonderfully improved in morals—and if no other result had followed the act of England, that would be sufficient to compensate for the labor expended upon it. But, more than that, crime had wonderfully diminished in every one of the islands—and, thirdly, the social condition of the inhabitants had immensely improved. Marriages were common now, whereas before they were uncommon; indeed, slavery practically denied the right of a slave to marry; it struck down all the relationships of marriage, and erected in its stead simply and solely the will of the master.

With regard to the material prosperity of the country, all properties were now cultivated at a lower cost than under slavery. (Hear, hear.) Slavery was not merely an impoverishing, but a costly institution, and in Jamaica it was peculiarly costly, because the owners generally lived away from their property, and in their stead overseers, headmen, and others, had to be employed, and paid before they came to the ordinary laborers, and this of course rendered cultivation more costly and the profits less. Now, however, the state of things had changed, and they were justified in saying that properties, which were losing matters before, were being cultivated profitably and at less expense than under slavery. It might not be known that slavery was not so impoverishing that everywhere it cursed the soil upon which it was found. He had stood on the borders of the Ohio river, and looked over into the slave land of Kentucky; he had seen the slaves driven from morning to night by the lash of the overseer, and in connection with this he saw the bare brown fields, altho' the labor was demanded at the price of the blood of the victim; but as he turned round he found on the free side of the river even the rock covered with vineyards, reminding him of the south of France. (Cheers.) And why, except that one was the land of slavery and the other of liberty? (Hear, hear.) Take Arkansas and Michigan—one a slave and the other a free State—both admitted into the Union in the same year. How was it that in the race for supremacy Michigan, the free State, had outstripped Arkansas, the slave State? In Virginia, too, where slavery existed, land sold at four dollars an acre, but in Pennsylvania, only divided from it by an imaginary line, free land sold for fifty dollars an acre. What was his argument?—that slavery impoverished the soil—(hear, hear)—and it did seem as if God had written it with His own almighty hand that the blood of the slave should be a blast to the soil, and that the slave's tramp should tread out the earth's vitality. (Hear.)

There was another great and important thing which had been accomplished; freedom had stepped in and stopped the overwhelming loss of human life. Slavery not merely impoverished the land, but it worked up the men, women, and children. In Saint Ann's, in 1817, the number of slaves returned was 347,230, but in 1838, when freedom really commenced (the four years of apprenticeship which began in 1834, having then terminated) there were only 310,368, or a decrease in the twenty-one years before freedom of 36,862 human beings, instead of an increase, as there ought to have been, of 100,000. Freedom stepped in and stopped that enormous decrease of human life—(applause)—and now they found the people increasing in proportion and in numbers more and more every year, just as they were progressing in other respects. He felt, therefore, that they had a right to meet to celebrate the great work which was accomplished twenty-seven years ago. Not only for this purpose did they meet, but in the hope, if possible, of interesting their hearts in the welfare of the four millions of human beings, who were now suffering in the United States all the horrors and cruelties of the crowning despotism the world ever saw;

and also to obtain their sympathy in their efforts to break down the slave system in America. (Cheers.)

Mr. DAY detailed at some length the indignities which were suffered by the colored population even in the free States; and after an eloquent denunciation of the cruelties of slavery, he said the question was, how were they to reach the system? They proposed to do so by means of the free fugitive slaves; and he would tell them briefly how. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Troy, one at Toronto, and the other at Windsor, were engaged preaching the Gospel, and also in supplying the bodily wants of those who escaped from slavery;—and Mr. Johnson expected to be a medical missionary amongst the same people. They were now trying, by means of schools, chapels, the printing press, &c., to lift up these fugitive slaves, 50,000 of whom had gone into Canada. From them they hoped to obtain a sufficient number of pioneers, who, with the lamp of liberty and the light of God's Gospel, should go into Africa, the land of their fathers, and through the cotton, and palm oil, and dyewoods of that country lift up the African continent, and in a few years produce a supply of cotton to set off against the American slave-grown cotton. They had sent Commissioners into Africa—colored men—who had been warmly received. They had made a treaty with the kings and chiefs of Abbeokuta and the neighboring country for the land they required. They found a cotton country ten times as large in extent as that of the United States. (Hear, hear.) They also found that two crops could be grown yearly, instead of one; and that the plant required setting only once in every seven years, instead of, as in the United States, every year. They also found a very industrious people, who did not require the lash to induce them to labor. Their Commissioners, moreover, found thirty-five miles of corn fields, stretching beyond like their grand western prairies, and showing the unbounded industry of the population.—If they were thus enabled to create another cotton market, the price of cotton must come down; and if they were enabled to reduce it, say 1d. per lb., the slave-owners would be unable profitably to cultivate it. This was their plan; it might appear a long way round, but he believed it practicable, and, if carried out, would strike a fatal blow at the existence of slavery. (Applause.) Mr. Day concluded by proposing the following resolution:

That this meeting, while commemorating the abolition of slavery in our West Indian Colonies, desires to express its conviction that this great experiment was a wise and righteous act—as the present improved condition and the cheering prospects of our West Indian possessions most fully and satisfactorily show—and would urge the consideration of this great fact upon those countries where slavery still exists, inasmuch as it furnishes a powerful and conclusive argument in favor of emancipation.

Rev. A. MURSELL seconded the resolution, expressing briefly his deep sympathy in the cause of emancipation, and his condemnation of those who, by their conduct and conversation, even in free England, appeared to countenance the horrors of slavery. He stated that Mr. Troy had intended to come to England by the Cunard line of steamers, but learning that he would be unable to dine with the white passengers, he refused to submit to the indignity, and made the voyage by a Scotch line of steamers, which knew no distinction between black and white. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. M. JOHNSON, at present at the Edinburgh University, but who was expelled from the medical College of the States in consequence of his color, supported the resolution, but confined his remarks to a comparison of the advantages enjoyed under the British constitution over a republican form of Government. (Applause.)

The resolution having been carried,

The Rev. W. MITCHELL, a colored minister to the fugitive slaves in Toronto, moved

That the destitute condition of the fugitive slaves who are constantly reaching Canada demands the sympathy and help of all the friends of freedom; and this meeting would especially

commend to the support of British Christians the efforts to give education and religious instruction to the rapidly-increasing colored population in British North America.

He denied that the slaves were contented with their condition; that their masters were so kind to them that they would not run away; or that they were too idle to work. He mentioned several facts proving the contrary, and then gave a touching description of the escape of 'Eliza,' mentioned in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' in which he himself assisted. He had aided the escape to Canada of 1,700 fugitive slaves, and he expressed a fervent hope that the time would soon arrive when every slave should be free and possess his inalienable right to liberty. (Applause.)

The Rev. W. TROY, of Windsor, C. W., in seconding the resolution, explained that his object in visiting this country was to obtain funds for the erection of a chapel for the fugitive slaves. He had been able to send £600, with which a chapel had been erected, a photograph of which he exhibited. In an earnest speech he exposed the evils and wickedness of slavery, and having asked if there was anyone in the meeting prepared to defend that system, a person in the centre of the hall, dressed in the garb of a mechanic, and whose name was Henry Conyers, expressed his readiness to do so. The announcement was received with hisses and other unmistakable signs of dissatisfaction, but the Chairman appealed to the audience to allow an opportunity for all to be heard.

CONYERS having ascended the platform, amidst considerable impatience offered a few remarks. He said he had lived fourteen years in America, and he believed that in the movement now going on, there was not sufficient sympathy exhibited by England with the object of the North. There were not better men than those in the North, nor men more opposed to slavery. (Ironical laughter.)—They were risking their lives by going to fight against slavery in the South. (No, no, and sensation.)

The CHAIRMAN here interposed, observing that it was evident the meeting were disinclined further to listen to the remarks of the speaker. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then adopted, and thanks having been voted to the Chairman, the meeting concluded about half-past ten o'clock.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, Aug. 31st, 1861.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN: SIR:—The much speaking and writing of Abolitionists on the War should not be set down to their conceit and folly. Were it a War about maritime rights or tariffs or diplomatic civilities, or anything else on which they are not specially informed, others would be at least as competent as themselves to discuss it. But as it is a slavery begotten War, they have a peculiar claim to be heard upon it, who have given up their lives to the study of slavery.—The conceit and folly are not on the part of the Abolitionists who, at such a time as this, offer advice, but on the part of those who turn contemptuously away from it. Prosperous and happy beyond all other nations would ours now be had she consented to profit by the foresight of the Garrisons and Goodells, Phillipses and Cheevers. But she contemned it: and the penalty of her contempt she is suffering to-day amidst the horrors of civil war. Not more obviously was the entire destruction of the Jewish nation the consequence of her disregard of the warnings of her Prophets than is the already far-advanced destruction of our nation the consequence of refusing to listen to our Prophets.

I said that the War is slavery begotten.—I do not forget that there are persons who look (wholly in vain, I think) for other causes of it. But even they must admit that if the extension and perpetuation of slavery were not its sole object, nevertheless nothing short of the maddening power of the pro-slavery spirit could have sufficed to impel the South

to begin a War, which to all sane minds was so full of peril, if not indeed of certain destruction, to her most cherished interests.—This much is certain—that whatever her objects, the South would never have made the War had not slavery first made her mad.

The War should by this time have been near or quite to its end. Pardon me for saying that it is owing to the errors of yourself and your advisers that it is not. I say so, not because I doubt your or their patriotism—for I do not. I say so, not because you or they are not intent on bringing the War to the speediest close—for I believe both are.—I say so, not because I believe you or they would encourage the rebels to protract it by offering them bribes to end it—for I believe that neither you nor they would be guilty of such folly. I am not of those, who find pleasure in defaming the Cabinet. If there was ever a Cabinet which should be judged not only justly but generously, it is the one to whose hands was committed a country already betrayed—a country, moreover, large portions of whose people were already in open War against her, and large portions of the remainder in craven and corrupt sympathy with them. It is true, that I wish there were a couple of Democrats in the Cabinet—such for instance as Dickinson and Holt. But I say so not because of any fault in any of its Members, but solely because I would have it enjoy a more undivided public confidence than it possibly can whilst its Members are all of the same political complexion.

What are these errors to which I refer?—They are but two. If there are others, they are included in them because growing out of them. One of these errors is—*Overrating the importance of Constitutional action in time of War.* The other—*Overrating the importance of conciliating loyal slaveholders.*

The importance of adhering to the Constitution in time of Peace can hardly be overrated—in time of War hardly be underrated. The popular reverence for the instrument will insure far more than all necessary adherence to it in time of War. Indeed at such a time this reverence is amongst our greatest perils. The Constitution was made far more for Peace than for War. Or, in other words, it was made to serve the nation rather than its enemies. I add, that it is far better for us to have no Constitutional scruples at all than to have them at such a time and to such an extent, as shall enable our enemies to take advantage of them. Suspicious strangers enter a dwelling. The excited sons do not govern their speech. Their aged father is right in reminding them that the family rules require civility to strangers. But he is a fool if, after the strangers have drawn weapons, he keeps on talking of 'the family rules.' So is it folly to trammel the freedom of the national family in time of War with the punctilious observance of rules, which were made to be used by it chiefly in time of Peace.

I complain not that whilst the Rebellion had as yet not grown upon your view into the dimensions and character of War you thought it your office to hold up the Constitution before its violators. I complain not of your doing so at that stage of our troubles, which seemed to you but little if any more than a riot or temporary obstruction of the laws.—But I do complain that, after the flames of War had burst out, you still continued to busy yourself in a way which, when that appalling time had come, was so infinitely below the demands that your imperilled and distressed country had upon you. Nay, I must insist, that it had then become too late to care greatly for the Constitution—too late, I had almost said, even to make mention of it. My speeches, writings, life prove my regard for it. But since the bombarding of Sumter intense concern for the Country has shut out from my heart all concern for the Constitution. It will be time enough for me to renew my interest in the Constitution when it shall be settled that I have a country left for it to govern. When my dwelling is on fire, I have something else to think of than its eating and sleeping arrangements. Will you bear with

me in saying that your stress on observing the Constitution whilst in a War with traitors who defy it, spit upon it, and trample it under foot, is not only very untimely, but very farcical.

I complain that you have made a false and petty issue when you should have accepted and proclaimed the true and grand one. When you saw the Nation falling to pieces under the blows of traitors, you should, instead of contracting your soul and the public soul to the narrow purposes of saving a Paper, have expanded both into the sublime purpose of saving the Nation at whatever cost to the Paper. All the way have you been hampered by this mistaken policy. Your summons to the people to save their Nation—to save it whatever else might be lost in saving it—was the one thing needed to electrify them. Alas that this object, so spirit-stirring and soul-absorbing had it been left uncombined with any other, should have been degraded to an identity with the scrupulous observance of a Paper! You thus hampered, and the people thus hampered, how could it be expected that all would be done which could be done to save the Nation? Your demand upon your countrymen should have been to save their country—to save it absolutely:—and to that their bounding blood would have responded gloriously. You should never have come down to crave them to save it conditionally—to save it if they could *Constitutionally*.

An immense advantage has this mistaken policy given our enemies. Since you led the way in this untimely inculcation of regard for every line and letter of the Constitution, it is not strange that our enemies followed. And as they followed dishonestly and artfully where you led honestly and artlessly, it is not strange that they did so with deeply injurious effects to our Cause. Under cover of the paramount importance which you were according to that Paper, Senator Breckinridge and his sort could labor to divert Congress from the perishing Nation to the War-suspended Constitution. Our enemies know that idolatry of the Constitution is not only your weakness and that of Congress, but that of the Nation also. Very cunningly therefore do they seize upon this weakness, and make it the line of their most effective tactics against us.—They well know that so long as they can keep us caring more for the Constitution than for the Country, or in other words, keep us confounding the Constitution with the Country, and making conformity to its requirements the supreme purpose in the camp and on the battle-field, as well as elsewhere, so long they will have but little to fear from us. They feel sure that however skillful the Generals, and vast the armies, and boundless the resources on which the North relies, nevertheless the free, dashing, reckless enthusiasm of the South will easily prevail against all these so long as all these are under the constraining and taming power of this Constitutional straight jacket. That the traitors are all aware of this national weakness of blind reverence for the Constitution, and know how to turn it to their account, is manifest not only from the criticisms, which the matchlessly impudent hypocrites of the South make upon the Constitutionality of your measures, but from the similar criticisms in the Secession Prints of the North, and in the writings and speeches of such misguided men as are endeavoring (I trust in vain) to rally the Democratic party against the Government and the Country.—Your unreasonable and excessive emphasis on the Constitution has gone far to help these traitors and hypocrites get the ear of the people. Whereas, had you called the people to the Country, and nothing but the Country, you would have so awakened their patriotism and so fired them with high purposes, as to shut their ear to this cant about the Constitution.

Even in time of Peace we sometimes see an excessive devotion to the Constitution. Such devotion was Daniel Webster's, when all he would have recorded on his tomb was that he had rendered some service to the Constitution. By such devotion was Daniel S. Dickinson's

democracy trammelled. Heaven be praised that it is now free!—and that in this sad and gloomy day of his country he proves himself capable of sinking the politician and partisan in the patriot. He still loves that Constitution; and is intent on going for it as far as he can. But infinitely more intent is he to go for the Country, be it at whatever expense to the Constitution. So would it be with Daniel Webster were he now alive—for he too was a patriot. He too, like Mr. Dickinson, would be found forgetting the Constitution in his deeper concern for the Country.

I know that you magnify the Constitution not to turn men from saving the Nation, but to quicken their zeal to save it. Nevertheless to magnify it at this time is to favor their cry of the Constitution, whose object in the cry is to counteract the claims of the country, and to accomplish its ruin by busying its friends with something else than its salvation. Happy would it be for the country if, until the last rebel against it had laid down his arms, your pen should no more write and your lips no more speak the word *Constitution*.

I close under this head, with the remark that even if the Constitution were so plain as to compel the reading of it in but one way, nevertheless inasmuch as the Nation can be saved only by making its salvation the absorbing idea of the Nation the less the public attention is called to the Constitution the better. But the Constitution, like most other books, is capable of being read several ways not only by ingenuity but by honesty. How very unwise, then, at such a time as this to multiply divisions among the people by directing them from the Country to the Constitution. In a word, as the enemies of the Nation care for nothing but to destroy it, so let its friends care for nothing but to save it.

Now to the other error—*Overrating the importance of conciliating loyal slaveholders*. Had all the slave States seceded and all the slaveholders sanctioned the Secession, the War would have been over ere this time.—Immediately on its breaking out you would have given to the Rebellion its death blow by your Proclamation inviting to our standard all the people of those States. Not only would it have been in your heart to do so—but it would have been in every true Northern heart to have you do so. Not to have done so would have shown you to be utterly unworthy of your place. But the Secession was only partial; and as all the slaveholders were not drawn into it, sympathy with such of them as were loyal, desire to please them and preserve their loyalty operated effectually to hold you back from giving such an invitation to the people of any of the slave States. I do not forget that many will argue that a Proclamation so bold would have disaffected the North. Their philosophy is unsound. It would have lifted up and rejoiced the North. It would have left scarce patronage enough for one Secession Newspaper. Boldness for the right is mighty to convert men to the right.

That all the slave States did not secede is what makes the War so expensive, so perilous, and perhaps in the end so ruinous to us. But for this, none would have felt the need of summoning half a million nor even a quarter of a million of white men to arms. But for this, none would have felt the need of draining the people of four hundred or half four hundred millions of money. But for this, none would have felt the flagrantly Unconstitutional assumption by military men of the right to decide who are slaves, would never have been. But for this, such men would have had no occasion to insult humanity and defy God by thrusting some persons into slavery, and by threatening to prevent others from getting out of it. But for this, black regiments from the Northern States would have been accepted, and the crime of denying men the right to participate in the defence of their country have been avoided. [By the way, have you ever dwelt upon the enormity of this crime? Is it not more criminal to restrain a man from defending his country, than to restrain him from defending his wife

and children? For not only is country more than family, but the fate of family is involved in the fate of country—and hence he is denied the defending of his family also, who is denied the defending of his country.] But that only a part of the slave States seceded, and that your Call for the help of bond as well as free, black as well as white, was thereby kept back, the white men of each slave State would have had quite enough to do within their own State; and none could have gone from the Southern slave States to help their fellow Secessionists in the Northern slave States. Among the black men, who would have sprung forward in response to your Call, hundreds would have exhibited as high heroism as William Tillman, the black sailor who, as yet, stands at the head of all the heroes of the present War. In response to that Call, many a black man would have shown himself as eager to be early in this War as was Crispus Attucks to be early in the Revolutionary War. For it was in one of the very first skirmishes in the dawn of the Revolution, that this noble black man led a party in Boston and sealed his patriotism with his blood. In response to your Call many a black regiment would have come forth and distinguished itself for valor and power as highly as did the famous Rhode Island black Regiment of the Revolution. Tristram Burgess says of this Regiment: 'No braver men met the enemy in battle.' How sublime an instance of devotion to a leader was the defending by his Guard of the mortally wounded Colonel of this Regiment! Not one of them would consent to leave him. Every one was slain. God alone knows how far our success in the Revolution was owing to the black patriots: and He alone can fathom the deep ingratitude of persecuting and oppressing their descendants. In response to your call, there would have been black troops, whom their Commanders would have eulogized as highly as General Jackson did the black troops who rendered him so essential service in saving New Orleans. That great General, who was not so dainty as to decline the help of black muscles, said to his black troops: 'I expected much from you; you have done more than I expected.'

We have seen that had all the slaveholders rebelled, you would have been in no doubt of your duty, and you would have saved the country quickly and cheaply—with no wrong to God nor man—with no defiance to the One nor insult to the other. But the case, which would then have been so plain, became in your esteem greatly complicated by the continued fidelity and allegiance of a very small part of the slaveholders. Here was your error. The salvation of your country demanded your Call for the help of bond and free, black and white, no less than if all the slaveholders had turned traitors. As a War measure—as a military necessity—it is justified as clearly in the one case as in the other. For there was not one in ten of the slaveholders who was even professedly loyal:—and why should you accommodate your policy to the gratification of so small a share of the slaveholders?—to the gratification of so exceedingly small a fraction of the American people? Again, among those who are determined slaveholders, and who insist, as all such do, on the maintenance of slavery at whatever hazard to other interests, there is not one who is loyal. The truly loyal man goes for his country at whatever hazard to slavery or aught else. The Government offered a command to that wise and brave, as well as rich man, Jas. S. Wadsworth. Did he, ere accepting it, stipulate for the safety from the hands of Government of his hundreds of oxen and thousands of sheep? Had he done so he would have shown his want of loyalty, and would not have been commissioned. But the General is a patriot; and therefore does he hold his sheep and oxen, and all his great estate subject to the needs of his country.—Soo too does the slaveholder, who is a patriot, and who is deserving of his country's favor, recognize the like paramount claim to his possessions, his slaves not excepted. No

slaveholder has a particle of loyalty who, when traitors are striking at the life of his country, and his slaves are needed to save it, is not willing, nay is not glad, to surrender them to a service infinitely more sacred, important and commanding than his own. This is the one test of the loyalty of slaveholders: and hence you may be sure that all those slaveholders, whose loyalty is to be secured by securing slavery, are traitors. As Gen. Wadsworth would rejoice to see the Government take his flocks and herds, and even his 'sacred home,' when the necessities of his beloved country call for them, so will the truly loyal slaveholder, however highly he may prize slavery, rejoice to see it blotted out if the salvation of his country shall require the sacrifice. Is it said that the Government will pay General Wadsworth? I answer that the slaveholder, as well as General Wadsworth, should trust the justice and generosity of the Government.

But this whole matter is in the compass of a nut-shell. Are the slaves property?—then like all other property, they are to be regarded as bought and sold and held subject to the superior claims of the Government, and to such uses as the Government may choose to put them to. Are they not property, but men?—then, when Government calls for them, neither must they refuse to come, nor must others hold them nor hide them.

Why is it that our Government may not have the help of black men as well as white when it is in need of both? Or why is it that in the exercise of its War-power it may take this man's grain, and that man's horses, these men's railroads, and those men's vessels, and all simply because it needs them, and whether they belong to friends or foes, and whether too it does or does not pay for them—and yet may not take the property of slaveholders? Is their property so sacred and so privileged as to be exempt from the liabilities common to the property of all others? We are educated into a deep delusion at this point.

I add that nothing so much as this insane respect for slave property has contributed to overshadow the claims of the Country with the claims of the Constitution. Constitutional as well as other pleas for the absolute and unending preservation of slavery in the Border States were put in, and the Government was unwise enough to listen to them, and to make the question one of Constitution rather than of Country—of the construction of a Paper rather than of the rights of a Nation struggling for life.

We find, then, that there has not been the least occasion in point of fact for all the fastidiousness, and all the fear of giving offence which have marked the course of the Administration on the slave question. To no degree whatever should it have been embarrassed by this question. It should have acted just as freely as if there had been no loyal slaveholders in its way—for there really was none, and there really can be none, since a truly loyal man cannot put himself in the way of his country. Those slaveholders who annoy the Government, draw it from the line of its duties, and damage its reputation at home and abroad by their impudent and absurd claims upon it for persons they allege to be fugitive slaves, and by the expression of their fears that the slaves will rise against their masters, do of course find it expedient to put on the guise of loyalty. However, were it not for the presence of Federal troops, and the fear of eventual Federal success, they would not trouble themselves to profess loyalty.

It is all for nothing, then, that the Administration has forbore to bring the nearly five millions of blacks, counting bond and free, to the side of our distressed and deeply endangered country: all for nothing that it has insulted them and let its armies insult, threaten and outrage such of them as were trying to get their own freedom and were eager to help the country secure hers: all for nothing that it is driving these five millions to hate the North, and make the best terms they can with

the South : all for nothing that it suffers tens of thousands of black men to work upon Southern fortifications, instead of their building ours, and thus saving the strength of our troops for the battle-field, as the enemy does hers : all for nothing that it suffers the traitors to compel black men to produce the immense quantities of grain, cotton, tobacco and sugar which these traitors are putting into the hands of their Government for the sole purpose of enabling it to make the Rebellion successful : all for nothing that it is draining the country of men and money, and drenching it in tears and blood, instead of letting black men become its chief and inexpensive saviors : all for nothing that it is protracting the War until the impatience and interests of other nations, combined with their contempt of a nation too foolish and fastidious to use whatever means for its salvation, shall impel them to throw their weight in the scale against us : all for nothing that it prefers years of civil war, when by a word from your lips it could suddenly block every war-wheel in the South, assure the land of a speedy peace and of a united, prosperous and happy people.

It is true that I am an Abolitionist—and that as such I may be fairly supposed to have some knowledge of some of the ways for meeting a pro-slavery War. Nevertheless though in writing you I have used the knowledge of an Abolitionist, it is not as an Abolitionist that I have written you. To tell you the truth, I have as a mere Abolitionist felt no anxieties since the news of the bombardment of Sumter reached me. I believed it to be the bombardment of slavery as well as of Sumter ; and that a little time would show it to be as effectual in the one case as it was in the other. Slavery will be as completely broken up by the convulsions of this War as was ever a city by the convulsions of an earthquake. As Southern cotton has now become quite too precarious a dependence for the manufacturers, they will supply themselves elsewhere, and thus leave but little motive for continuing slave labor in the South.—Moreover, after the present repulsive exhibition of slavery, Civilization will recoil further than ever from it. Religion always abhorred it. An advancing Civilization will not spare it.

I said it is not as an Abolitionist that I have addressed you. Had I done so, I should have dwelt upon your duty to know no law for slavery, and to declare that no piracy, much less the superlative piracy, is, ever was, ever will be, or ever can be embodied in LAW. Had I as an Abolitionist written to you, I should have asked you to 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.' I should have said that no Proclamation for Prayer can save the Nation : that whilst Prayer with Justice is the mightiest of all combinations, Prayer without Justice is but mockery and emptiness. But I knew that you were not prepared for such words ; and therefore I took lower ground and spoke to you as even a pro-slavery politician might speak to you—as I might speak to you were I an anti-Abolitionist. Perhaps the country may be saved even on this lower ground. Perhaps it may be saved if you will but consent to use the War-Power as faithfully as you can, without using it in the spirit of an Abolitionist. I have not asked you to abolish slavery. I have gone no farther than to ask you not to lose the Country for the sake of saving slavery.

In one of my unpublished letters from that far-seeing statesman John Quincy Adams, he says of a pro-slavery War which he predicts will in a certain event take place between the North and the South : 'It would be more terrible than the thirty years War which followed the Wittenberg Theses of Martin Luther, and I shrink from it with horror.' This letter was written as far back as the year 1839. I had myself, with even my little foresight, been predicting for more than twenty years a War in this country on slavery, and that it would be the bloodiest chapter in all the Book of Time. But I confess that when I saw the shape which the present War was

taking, and that there was not one redeeming nor in the least degree mitigating feature in the entirely unprovoked outrage of the South upon the North, I did suppose that there could be no considerable division at the North, and that the Administration would soon be willing to bring the War to a speedy end by calling to its help the black race. I believed that the close of the War would come before the close of the year. But Mr. Adams was as wise as I was ignorant. He probably judged that an American War on slavery would be a very protracted one, because he foresaw that a people so cowed and corrupted by slavery as we Northerners are would not have the courage to face it so far as to ask its victims to help us. Slavery has made the whole North servile. I doubt whether even a single Abolitionist has entirely recovered from the servility to slavery in which we were all educated. Alas that there should be this slavery-sparing, slavery-honoring and therefore War-prolonging policy of the Administration to be added to the many proofs that Mr. Adams was a Prophet !

In the same letter Mr. Adams says : 'That the slaveholders of the South should flatter themselves that by seceding from this Union they could establish their peculiar institutions in perpetuity, is in my judgment one of those absurd self-delusions which would be surprising if they did not compose the first chapter in the history of human nature. THE SLAVEHOLDERS DO SO FLATTER THEMSELVES, AND WILL ACT ACCORDINGLY.' How wonderfully prophetic is this language ! Never until a few months before actual Secession began, could I believe it would ever begin. But I had never studied, as Mr. Adams had, the infatuating power of slavery upon its worshipers.—His confidence that Secession will not avail to perpetuate slavery cannot exceed my own. Secession is its death. They, who have appointed themselves to save slavery, will find that God had appointed them to destroy it. 'A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps.' 'He made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made.' 'His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate.'

I had written thus far when the news of General Fremont's Proclamation of immediate and unconditional freedom to the slaves of the rebels of Missouri reached me. 'ARE HEREBY DECLARED FREE,' it says : I need write no farther. I lay down my pen to rejoice—not to rejoice in this indication that the whole system of American slavery is soon to pass away—for that it is to do so was my conviction and my joy, as long ago as when I heard of the bombardment of Sumter. But I lay it down to rejoice in the now greatly brightened prospect of the speedy suppression of the Rebellion. I assume that the General has acted upon an at last settled policy of the Administration—the policy of weakening and confounding the enemy whenever, wherever, however we can. All the same though will be my rejoicing whether it shall turn out that the General acted simply upon his own responsibility, (as in every such case the commander has the clear right to do,) or whether he acted upon the advice of the Administration. For the Administration will be with him if he was not with it. The North too, although lacking the courage to propose the measure, will nevertheless sanction it. Oftentimes the veriest cowardice is glad to follow where true courage leads. The North will perceive that Fremont has done the right thing, and will demand that it be done elsewhere. The Slave Power will of course cry out against it—only faintly however. For by this noble deed of a noble man, a breach has been made in it, which can never be healed : its ranks are fatally broken : its prestige clean gone forever. Remonstrance against this measure it doubtless will. Nevertheless the tones of its remonstrance, always excepting those of mere bluster, will be reduced from their former boldness and defiance to but whinnying and deprecation.

This step of General Fremont is the first unqualifiedly and purely right one in regard to our colored population, which has taken place during the War. The like step will soon be taken in other slave States. Then the second step regarding that population will be to accept the help of these freed slaves as guides, spies, builders, soldiers, sailors. It is not enough that we take them from the service of our foe. We must go farther and take them into our own. And the third and last step will be to proclaim the right and obligation of the slaves of the loyal also, to afford us such help. Thanks to Fremont, and I trust to the Administration also, a common sense way (I do not say the very best way) of carrying on this War is at last fairly entered up. Perseverance in it for only a few months, or if with rapid steps for only a few weeks, will bring us to victory. May 'the wisdom that is from above' be vouchsafed to you and your Cabinet and to all who are working with you and them for the salvation of our beloved country.

Respectfully yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

STEALING SLAVES TO SELL SOUTH—Negroes who have recently sought refuge within the Federal lines at Fortress Monroe agree in representing that there are bands of kidnappers scouring the country for many miles around that region. These land-pirates systematically steal all the able-bodied, salable negroes they can, and run them off to the Southern markets and pocket the proceeds. This system of land-piracy has, according to representation, been carried on to a considerable extent. So that, between the flight of negroes and the stealing by the land pirates, the owners of this species of property in that region are likely to fare badly. This fact illustrates the morals of the rebels, and their proclivity for the slave trade. In this section property in slaves some time since ceased to have any real value. The standard of valuation is completely broken down, and sales of slaves are not heard of. The relation of master and slave does not exist, and it involves no one in the charge of Abolitionism to predict that there is hardly any likelihood of its ever being revived. This state of things must necessarily have a radical effect in landed and every other species of property related to labor. Indeed, every other kind of property has but little more real value than that in negroes. If the lands in that part of the State are ever again cultivated, it must be by free labor. Some of the finest estates in Virginia were in that part of the State. Nearly all of them are now abandoned.

THE NATIONAL LOAN.—The amount of subscriptions for the past week in New York city was about three millions seven hundred thousand dollars, or an average per day of more than half a million. The present week opened with an increase on the above average.

LOYAL SOUTHERN OFFICERS OF THE NAVY.—There are now in the United States Navy 9 captains, 14 commanders, and 37 lieutenants from the seceded States. They are loyal to the core. Eleven captains, 30 commanders, and 81 lieutenants have gone over to the traitors since the rebellion began.

TERMS OF DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

Single Copies, to American subscribers, \$1 per year.
" " " to British " 5s. sterling.

Subscriptions must be paid for *invariably in advance*. All communications, whether on business or for publication, should be addressed to

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

AGENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for *Douglass' Monthly* in Great Britain :

Halifax—Rev. RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, Milton Place; Rev. Dr. CROFTS, North Parade.
London—Mr. L. A. CAMEROVZOW, Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, E. C.
Dublin—Mr. WM. WEBB, 52, High Street, and 8, Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.
Derby—Dr. SPENCER T. HALL, Burton Road.
Glasgow—Mr. JOHN SMITH, 173, Trongate.
Leeds—Mr. ARTHUR HOLLAND, 4, Park Row.
Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. WALTER S. PRINGLE.

Haytian Advertisements.

INVITATION.

Hayti will soon regain her ancient splendor. This marvelous soil that our fathers, blessed by God, conquered for us, will soon yield to us the wealth now hidden in its bosom. Let our black and yellow brethren, scattered through the Antilles, and North and South America, hasten to co-operate with us in restoring the glory of the Republic. Hayti is the common country of the black race. Our ancestors, in taking possession of it, were careful to announce in the Constitution that they published, that all the descendants of Africans, and of the inhabitants of the West Indies, belong by right to the Haytian family. The idea was grand and generous.

Listen, then, all ye negroes and mulattoes who, in the vast Continent of America, suffer from the prejudices of caste. The Republic calls you; she invites you to bring to her your arms and your minds. The regenerating work that she undertakes interests all colored people and their descendants, no matter what their origin or where their place of birth.

Hayti, regaining her former position, retaking her ancient sceptre as Queen of the Antilles, will be a formal denial, most eloquent and peremptory, against those detractors of our race who contest our desire and ability to attain a high degree of civilization. GEFFARD.

CIRCULAR---No. I.

To the Blacks, Men of Color, and Indians in the United States and British North American Provinces:

FRIENDS:—I am authorized and instructed by the Government of the Republic, to offer you, individually and by communities, a welcome, a home, and a free homestead, in Hayti.

Such of you as are unable to pay your passage will be provided with the means of defraying it.

Two classes of emigrants are especially invited—laborers and farmers. None of either class, or any class, will be furnished with passports, who cannot produce, before sailing, the proofs of good character for industry and integrity.

To each family of emigrants, five carreaux (a carreau is 3 acres and 3 1-3 rods) of fresh and fertile land, capable of growing all the fruits and staples of the tropics, will be gratuitously given, on the sole condition that they shall settle on it and cultivate it, and declare their intention of becoming citizens of Hayti. To unmarried men, on similar conditions, two carreaux will be granted.

Board and lodging, free of cost, will be furnished to the emigrants for at least eight days after their arrival in the island.

The government also will find remunerative work for those of you whose means will not permit you to begin immediately an independent cultivation.

Emigrants are invited to settle in communities.

Sites for the erection of schools and chapels will be donated by the State, without regard to the religious belief of the emigrants.

The same protection and civil rights that the laws give to Haytians are solemnly guaranteed to the emigrants.

The fullest religious liberty will be secured to them; they will never be called on to support the Roman Catholic Church.

No military service will be demanded of them, excepting that they shall form military companies and drill themselves once a month.

All the necessary personal effects, machinery and agricultural instruments introduced by the emigrants, shall be entered free of duty.

The emigrants shall be at liberty to leave the country at any moment they please; but those whose passage shall be paid by government, if they wish to return before the expiration of three years, will be required to refund the money expended on their account. A contract, fixing the amount, will be made with each emigrant before leaving the continent.

I have been commissioned to superintend the interests of the emigrants, and charged with the entire control of the movement in America, and all persons, therefore, desiring to avail themselves of the invitation and bounty of the

Haytian Government, are requested to correspond with me.

I shall at once, as directed by the Government, establish a bureau of emigration in Boston, and publish a Guide Book for the use of those persons of African or Indian descent who may wish to make themselves acquainted with the resources of the country and the disposition of its authorities.

I shall also appoint Agents to visit such communities as may seriously entertain the project of emigration.

Immediate arrangements, both here and in Hayti, can be made for the embarkment and settlement of one hundred thousand persons.

By order of the Government of the Republic of Hayti. JAMES REDPATH,

General Agent of Emigration.
BOSTON, Nov. 3, 1860.

CIRCULAR---No. III.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
Boston, July 1, 1861. }

AUTUMN ARRANGEMENTS.

Emigration is suspended until August 24th when it will be energetically resumed.

Arrangements will be made by which emigrants can sail from different ports during the autumn and winter. Due notice will be given of the days of sailing, through the columns of "The Pine and the Palm."

Persons desiring to emigrate are requested to read carefully the circulars of this Bureau, and to follow the directions therein given, as it is impossible to provide for the comfort of passengers except by insisting on a strict compliance with our regulations.

I. Let it be understood, that all who can pay for their passage are expected to do so; and that a passage will be advanced to such farmers and laborers only as are unable to meet this expense.

II. All mechanics who intend to practice their trades in Hayti must go at their own expense; the Government guarantees to find work for farmers and laborers only. It will welcome all colored emigrants; but it cannot agree to provide work for all classes of mechanics. Its demands for agricultural labor is unlimited; but for mechanical skill this is not the case.

III. Passengers will be charged at the rate of \$18 each adult from United States ports; from Canadian ports \$25. Children under eight will be charged half price; infants under one year, free.

IV. Passengers, in all cases, should provide their own bedding. Mattresses must be four feet wide. Each passenger must be provided with a tin gallon can for water, a tin cup, a tin plate, knife and fork, a few pounds of soap, and towels, with such extra utensils as may be deemed necessary to hold the daily rations.

V. The amount of baggage allowed to every passenger is two trunks, or two barrels, or one trunk and one barrel. All freight over that amount will be charged for, separately from the passage ticket, at the rate of 75 cents per barrel or 15 cents per cubic foot from American ports; or 90 cents per barrel and 18 cents per cubic foot from British North American ports. This is exclusive of the bedding, which goes free.—All goods must be boxed up.

VI. The board provided for emigrants will be the navy rations of the United States, minus intoxicating spirits, which will not be allowed in our vessels. The following is the fare:

NAVY RATION FOR EACH DAY OF THE WEEK.

Days.	Bread.	Beef.	Pork.	Flour.	Rice.	Dried Fruit.	Pickles.	Sugar.	Tea.	Choice Coffee.	Butter.	Cheese.	Beans.	Molasses.	Vinegar.	Water.
Sunday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tuesday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wednesday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thursday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Friday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saturday..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	98	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Emigrants are at liberty to carry, free of expense, additional provisions to be used on the voyage. Slight additions may be made to the navy rations; but the Bureau does not pledge itself to do so.

VII. As efforts have been industriously made by unscrupulous men to misrepresent the conditions under which emigrants who do not prepay their passages, will accept the offers of the Government of Hayti, it is deemed advisable to publish below, in full, the contract to be made with them. The words in italic and within brackets (blank in the original) are filled up to how precisely the terms on which a single man

can emigrate. It should be distinctly understood, that no barrier whatever will be put to any man's return, excepting that he shall pay the sum of eighteen dollars before embarking for the United States if he did not pay for his own passage from this country to Hayti. The Government of Hayti, while they will welcome all visitors, cannot reasonably be expected to pay their passages. Hence this provision.

The following is the contract with the emigrants who do not prepay their passages:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this [first] day of [January] A. D. 1861, by and between JAMES REDPATH, of Boston, General Agent of Emigration, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hayti, and [John Smith,] late of [Detroit, Michigan,] and an emigrant to Hayti;

WITNESSETH: That said James Redpath, on behalf of the Government of Hayti aforesaid, agrees to provide a passage for said [John Smith] from the port of [Boston] to the port of [St. Mark] in said Hayti, in the [Brig L'Ami d'Hayti] leaving the port of [Boston] on or about the [third] day of [January] 1861, upon the conditions hereafter following, viz:

First, said [John Smith] hereby acknowledges the receipt of [a] ticket of passage from said port of [Boston] to said port of [St. Mark] in Hayti, and agrees during the term of said voyage to provide [his] own bedding, and the necessary utensils for eating and drinking.

Secondly, in consideration of receiving the passage aforesaid, said [John Smith] further agrees, that if he accepts a grant of land from the Government of Hayti, under the provisions of the law on Emigration, approved by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Hayti, September 1, 1860, he will repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, within [three years] from the date of the contract.

Furthermore, that if from any cause said [John Smith] sees proper to leave Hayti before the expiration of the term of three years from the date of [his] arrival in the Island, [he] shall pay the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, as repayment of expenses incurred by the agents of the Government for [his] passage to Hayti; but, nevertheless, with this express provision: That if [he] does remain three years in the Island from the date of [his] arrival therein, and does not see fit to accept a grant of land from the Government of the Republic of Hayti, [he] shall not be required to repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti, or any agent of Government thereof, any sum whatever on account of said passage.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

[L. s.]
[L. s.]

[John Smith]
JAMES REDPATH.

VIII. Emigrants must pay their expenses to the port of embarkation.

IX. To aid emigrants who wish to carry extra baggage, the Bureau will allow them, (by giving a note payable to the Government of Hayti,) to take such freight to the amount of \$10.

X. The Bureau wishes it to be distinctly understood, however, that unless at least twenty days notice is given of intention to sail, with the amount of baggage to be taken, it will not hold itself responsible to secure a passage for any one.

XI. All persons desiring information relative to the movement, are cordially invited to correspond with the General Bureau, or personally to visit it. The fullest information will be afforded them.

XII. Usual length of voyage, from fourteen to twenty days.

A. E. NEWTON,
Corresponding Secretary.

NOW READY,

SERMONS AND SPEECHES BY HON. GERRIT SMITH; containing his Six Sermons on the Religion of Reason, and three of his recent Speeches—one of them delivered lately on the War. Price 50 cents.

For sale by ROSS & TOUSEY,
No. 121 Nassau-st., New York.

—The Haytian Central Bureau of Emigration has been removed from Boston to New York. Persons intending to emigrate, or desiring information respecting Hayti, should now address Mr. A. E. Newton, the Corresponding Secretary, New York City.